BULLYING IN SINGAPORE SCHOOLS

Research Monograph No. 8

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FOREWORD
School Bullying in Singapore

Schools should be a safe and nurturing environment for all students. Unfortunately, this may be far from true as a significant number of students are the target of bullying episodes that result in serious academic, physical, and emotional consequences.

Although this apparently widespread social problem is a concern for many people – from the victims on its receiving end to the community at large, most are not able to comprehend its dynamics let alone know how to deal with it.

At Singapore Children's Society, we believe that the crux of a bully-free school environment lies in making bullying a priority issue among students, parents, school personnel, educational authorities and the community at large. Since 2004, we have been running the Bully-Free Programme which strives to make schools bully-free through various direct and indirect measures. We began with running a one-week campaign for 13 secondary schools in 2004, with the aim of advocating for a harmonious and mutually respectful living amongst students. This year, we have expanded to organise training camps for teachers, full-time school counsellors and Bully-Free student ambassadors for 42 primary and secondary schools. The growth in the number of participating schools reflects that this event is well-received by many schools which believe in the mission of providing a bully-free school environment to their pupils. On top of this, the Children's Society has set up a website, www.bullyfreecampaign.sg, providing tips to students, as well as to the adults around them, on how to deal with the problem of bullying in schools.

The monograph gives an overview of the prevalence of the various forms of bullying experienced by our children in schools, the effects of bullying on the victims, the sources of support the victims turned to and their perceived effectiveness. I am proud to report that findings from the secondary, and the primary school surveys have been shared at the global as well as the Asian regional conferences of the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect (ISPCAN) in the United Kingdom and Philippines in 2006 and 2007 respectively. The comparative findings between both surveys will also be shared at the Congress of the Asian Society for Child & Adolescent Psychiatry & Allied Profession (ASCAPAP) as well as ISPCAN's global conference in Hong Kong this year.

Though bullying can happen anywhere, school is a place where bullying frequently occurs. School personnel including the principals, vice-principals, teachers, school counsellors and school administrators as well as parents play a crucial role in helping children and youth with regards to school bullying. We need to be available for the children and listen to their concerns. We should also take their problems seriously and do what is needed to help them, whether they are victims, bullies or bystanders. We hope this monograph will provide an insight for the adults when coming together to make a difference for our young ones!

I would like to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate all members of the Research Committee under the chairmanship of Associate Professor John Elliott, and the dedicated Research Officers for their hard work in putting the 2 studies together. Applause also goes to the staff of our Student Service Hub, especially to Ms Tan Bee Joo and Mrs Christina Appadoo Nehru, who have been embarking on the Bully-Free Programme since 2004. Special thanks go to Mr Alex Lee, Chairman of the Social Work Service Standing Committee, who initiated the idea of conducting a research study on school bullying in Singapore, to support the Bully-Free Programme. With this partnership between our Research and Outreach Centre and the Student Service Hub, which runs the Bully-Free Programme, I am sure we can look forward to more research based social services in the near future.

Mr Koh Choon Hui, JP BBM (L)
Chairman
Singapore Children's Society

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We would like to express our gratitude to the following persons and organisations who have contributed significantly to the completion of this study. We are grateful to the Singapore Children's Society Research & Advocacy Standing Committee, the Research Committee, and the Social Work Services Standing Committee for their support and advice since the inception of this study. We feel especially indebted to Dr John M. Elliott for his invaluable advice and guidance throughout the study. Our gratitude goes to Mrs Christina Appadoo Nehru, Ms Tan Bee Joo and colleagues from Student Service Hub (Bukit Merah) for their involvement in the two surveys. Our appreciation goes to Ms Hong Kim Beng and Dr Siew Lai Keun for their contribution during the early stages of the study. Our thanks also go to our volunteers for helping us with the data verification and proof-reading of the manuscript, as well as colleagues from the Singapore Children's Society for their useful comments on the study. Last but not least, we would like to thank the youths, children and parents for their time and participation in the pilot and main studies.

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LIST OF RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

The present monograph is the latest in a series published by Singapore Children's Society. Table 1 shows a list of previous monograph publications which can be freely downloaded from the Singapore Children's Society's website at http://www.childrensociety.org.sg.

Table 1: List of previous monographs

No.	Monograph title and description
1	The *Public Perceptions of Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore* published in December 1996, confronts the average Singaporean's thinking towards child abuse and neglect.
2	The *Professional and Public Perceptions of Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore: An Overview* published in April 2000 focuses on the attitudes of professionals towards abuse or neglect, and their opinions on the experience and reporting of child abuse and neglect.
3	*The Professional and Public Perceptions of Physical Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore* published in April 2000 focuses specifically on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards physical child abuse and neglect.
4	*Emotional Maltreatment of Children in Singapore: Professional and Public Perceptions* published in February 2002 focuses on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards emotional child maltreatment.
5	*Child Sexual Abuse in Singapore: Professional and Public Perceptions* published in June 2003 focuses specifically on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards child sexual abuse.
6	*The Parenting Project: Disciplinary Practices, Child Care Arrangements and Parenting Practices in Singapore* published in October 2006 looks into how children are disciplined, who their main caregivers are, and how parents interact with their children in general.
7	*Children's Social and Emotional Well-Being in Singapore* published in July 2008 examined parents' and children's perspectives on children's state of social and emotional well-being.

Earlier monographs have focussed on child abuse and neglect, and the Society has in recent years incorporated mainstream research to supplement past efforts on these problematic issues. And unlike previous monographs on child abuse and neglect with adults as the abusers, the current monograph focuses on bullying, which could be regarded as a form of child abuse perpetrated by peers. Together, every piece of information collected is intended to assist the Society in its mission to advocate for change to improve the well-being of children.

Professionals, researchers and students may also find the research information useful for their work, and parents themselves may be interested to learn more about the nature of bullying in Singapore and the harmful impact it has on our children and youths.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As part of a bully-free initiative by the Singapore Children's Society, two surveys have been conducted to give a better understanding of the nature and extent of bullying in Singapore schools. The first survey was conducted in 2006 on secondary school students, and the second was conducted in 2007 on primary school children. Both surveys aimed to establish how widespread bullying was among students in our primary and secondary schools, and looked at who the victims and their bullies were. The surveys also examined the prevalence of the various forms of bullying experienced by students and the effects bullying had on them, as well as the sources of support these victims turned to and their perceived effectiveness. Findings from both groups of students were compared and examined in relation to gender, ethnicity, and educational levels (Primary 1 through 6, and Secondary 1 through 4).

Sample description

A total of 1299 students took part in the two surveys. 513 students with a mean age of 15.2 years took part in the first survey on secondary schools, and 786 primary school students with a mean age of 10.3 years took part in the second survey. Stratified random sampling was used in both surveys and respondents were selected according to their gender, ethnicity, and level of education in the previous school year so as to generate samples that were nationally representative in those aspects.

The surveys were based on a recall of students' bullying experiences in the previous school year. In the secondary school survey, only students from Secondary 2 to 5 at the time of the interview were surveyed, so the experiences reported covered from Secondary 1 through 4, but the experiences of Secondary 4 (Express and Normal Technical) and Secondary 5 students were not covered. In the survey on primary school pupils however, students from Primary 2 through Secondary 1 at the time of the interview were surveyed, so the experiences reported extended from Primary 1 through 6.

Procedure

A largely quantitative questionnaire was first designed for the secondary school survey, based on literature review and the experiences of staff working with children and youths who were victims of bullying. This questionnaire was subsequently adapted for the survey on primary school students. Efforts were made to keep both questionnaires as similar as possible for comparison purposes, but some changes appropriate for the younger respondents had to be made, including the use of simpler English, with some items being pooled or deleted to shorten the interview. Pilot tests were conducted for both groups of students to ensure they could understand the questions and that the interview was not too long.

Suitable respondents who met the sampling criteria were invited by trained interviewers to take part in these one-to-one interviews at home. The home was chosen to avoid biases by restricting sample selection to certain schools or catchment areas. Informed consent from each student was obtained before the interview commenced. Additional parental consent was also obtained for each primary school pupil. The voluntary nature of the study was stressed to the respondents, and it was explained to them that they could withdraw participation at any point of the interview. Each interview took no more than twenty minutes to complete and all interviews were conducted in English (the medium of instruction in Singapore schools).

To examine the prevalence of bullying and the common types of bullying behaviours faced by our youths and children, respondents were presented with a list of common physical, verbal, relational and cyber bullying behaviours and asked to rate how often they experienced each hurtful behaviour on an objective frequency scale. To find out the effects of bullying on these victims, respondents were asked, from a list of common physical, emotional, and psychological reactions to bullying, if they had experienced any of those effects. For sources of support, secondary school students were asked, from a list of people commonly approached, whether they had approached any of them, and how effective they found them to be. In the primary school survey though, the children were asked to list up to two persons they informed, and how effective they found each of them to be. Both groups of students were also asked to provide some demographic details of their bullies like gender, ethnicity, and educational level. If the victim was bullied by more than one person, he or she would be asked to identify the bully he or she was most affected by. Finally, they were also asked if they themselves engaged in any bullying behaviours.

Summary of key findings

Bullying was found to be not infrequent among students in primary and secondary schools in Singapore. About 1 in 4 secondary school students and 1 in 5 primary school pupils surveyed were bullied by their peers, defined as any action apparently intended to victimise and repeated at least two times in a single month. Smaller proportions of students from both types of schools also admitted bullying others (10% of secondary and 5% of primary school students surveyed), though the frequency and nature of their aggression was not known. A large number of these self-admitted bullies were themselves victims of bullying, though they only made up a small portion of the victims. Although the characteristics of these bully-victims were not known to us, they could be victims who are also easily provoked and react to such provocation with hostility, or bullies with traits that cause them to provoke others who may in turn respond to them with aggression. In fact, a large number of bully-victims in our primary school sample also mentioned they had bullied others out of "revenge", while some bully-victims in secondary schools had admitted to bullying others before they themselves were bullied.

Nature of bullying

A comparison between the way primary and secondary school students were bullied found many similarities between the two groups of students. Verbal bullying, particularly hurtful or vulgar name-calling, was most prevalent among students. Cyber bullying was least common, with relational and physical bullying of intermediate prevalence. For relational bullying, a gender difference was found whereby more girls from both school types were bullied this way. It is possible that girls chose such covert ways of victimisation because they are usually more discouraged from displaying their aggression than boys.

The trends in bullying were also quite similar between primary and secondary school students. Victims across all educational levels, from Primary 1 through Secondary 4, reported similar amounts of bullying, and many of them were bullied by someone in their class. Such a finding was possibly the result of students being generally confined to the same group of peers for extended periods of time, giving more opportunities for conflicts to arise. It implies a corresponding responsibility for intervening on the part of class teachers.

The majority of the bullies in primary and secondary schools, as identified by victims, were boys. And most bullies, boys or girls, were picking on someone of the same gender. This obvious tendency for same-gender bullying makes sense when we consider the patterns of children and adolescents' friendships. Peer relationships are predominantly same-gender anyway, and this large amount of contact time could mean more chances for conflicts to occur. The traditional gender roles played by males and females may also partially account for this finding. Boys are expected to be strong and are not supposed to hurt girls, while girls tend to be brought up to defer to boys. It is therefore not surprising to find more boys bullying other boys and girls bullying less and mainly other girls.

Bullies in both primary and secondary schools were also mainly targeting students of the same ethnicity. Knowing students do not usually get bullied because of their race is in a way reassuring, especially for multi-racial societies like Singapore. However, we did find primary school Indians were subjects of racial taunts more often even though they were not bullied more because of their race, possibly because being one of the smallest ethnic minorities, racial teasing becomes a method of bullying open to the majority. This prevalence for secondary school victims is not known.

There were a few differences, mainly where gender is concerned, in the way primary and secondary school students were bullied. Firstly, more boys than girls were bullied in primary schools, whereas equal proportions of boys and girls were bullied in secondary schools. This can be explained by the different ways in which boys and girls bully – girls in the present study preferred to bully covertly by hurting their victim's relationship with someone. Such a sophisticated form of bullying presumably requires more advanced social and cognitive skills to deploy effectively, which younger primary school girls may lack, thereby explaining the lower bullying prevalence among primary school girls.

Secondly, although girls generally preferred to bully more covertly, the type of relational bullying used by primary and secondary school bullies were different. Primary school girls were more inclined to bully others by terminating friendships with their victims or by excluding them from a group, whereas secondary school girls preferred to spread rumours about their victims. This could be because the younger primary school girls lack the necessary social and cognitive skills needed to engage in (presumably) more advanced forms of victimisation like rumour spreading.

Consequences of bullying

A comparison between the way primary and secondary school students reacted to bullying found many similarities between the two groups of students. Most primary and secondary school victims responded to bullying with feelings of anger and sadness, and a considerable number of them retaliated against their bullies. This latter group of retaliatory victims is a particular cause for concern insofar as retaliation, while understandable, perpetuates the problem and is hardly a constructive solution.

Educational level and ethnicity had little influence on how students in primary and secondary schools felt about being bullied. The differences between how primary and secondary school students reacted to bullying related mainly to their gender. Although girls, regardless of their type of school, tended to have more negative emotional and psychological complaints than boys, they differed in the type of emotional and psychological effects experienced. More girls than boys in secondary but not primary schools had felt sad and wanted to be alone after they were bullied. More female victims in secondary but not primary schools also reported behaviour responses such as having difficulty sleeping at night, crying every time they recalled the bullying incident, and harming themselves. Teenage girls could have been more affected by the kind of bullying they tend to experience (i.e., relational) because adolescence is often characterised by peer intimacy, so peer rejection could have meant more to them.

Sources of support

Lastly, comparisons were also made between the help-seeking behaviours of primary and secondary school students. The largest difference related to who they turned to for support on bullying. The (comparatively) younger respondents in primary schools generally preferred to approach their parents, particularly mothers, for support on bullying, while the older respondents in secondary schools confided more in their peers. This was arguably due to the increasingly influential roles peers are known to play during adolescence. Nonetheless, most of these support sources were able to improve things for the victims, and only seldom did they make things worse for them.

In conclusion, the findings obtained from these two surveys gave an indication of the extent and nature of bullying experiences of students in Singapore schools. It is to be hoped that the results will contribute to a better understanding and awareness of this problem and be of some use to readers in formulating more effective intervention efforts and preventive measures to tackle bullying in schools.

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1.1 Bullying in context

Bullying has traditionally been dismissed as something trivial that is part and parcel of school life (Channel NewsAsia, 05 May 2007; Hazler, Hoover, & Oliver, 1993; The Straits Times, 19 June 2006). However, more and more reports of its harmful consequences have been surfacing in local and overseas media in recent years, with extreme cases of suicides and homicides like school shootings being linked to victims of chronic bullying, forcing local communities to take swift actions to address this serious issue (The Straits Times, 03 January 2007; The Straits Times, 18 May 2007; The Straits Times, 23 November 2007).

Lawmakers in countries including the United Kingdom and several Scandinavian countries (Olweus, 2001), as well as several states in the United States of America have criminalized school bullying (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). It is also mandatory for Australian schools to have anti-bullying programmes to qualify for government funding (Channel NewsAsia, 05 November 2005). A series of bullycides, a term coined for bullying-related suicides, have also prompted the Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, to put bullying on his political agenda (The Straits Times, 08 February 2007).

Locally, concerned members of parliament have raised the issue of bullying in Parliament several times in the last few years. In its last parliamentary reply, the Ministry of Education reported that it has already developed and provided all secondary schools with a "School Bullying Management Kit", and was preparing a similar kit for primary schools (Ministry of Education, 2007a). A voluntary society, the Coalition against Bullying for Children and Youth (CABCY), has also been set up specially to tackle school bullying.

With a similar goal, Singapore Children's Society has also been running its own Bully-Free Programme since 2004. This programme strives to make our schools bully-free through various direct and indirect measures. The programme was initiated by a group of social workers from the Society, who in the course of their work, came into contact with children and youths who were victims of school bullying. Over the years, the Society has been organising bully-free forums, workshops and networking sessions for professionals working with students. A bully-free website, http://www.bullyfreecampaign.sg, was also set up to provide students and adults with information and resources to tackle school bullying. Besides reaching out to the adults, the Society's ongoing bully-free work also heavily involves working with students directly to create bullying awareness by training them to be Bully-Free Ambassadors and running bully-free campaigns in their own schools.

1.2 Objectives of the present study

A 2004 straw poll of over 500 visitors to Project CABIN, a school-based youth outreach programme by the Society to provide an alternative hangout place for secondary school students to engage in meaningful activities and positive interaction after school hours, found approximately 90% of them have experienced some form of bullying behaviour at least once in their school life, prompting the Society to conduct a more systematic study to explore the true extent of this problem in our schools.

Two exploratory surveys were subsequently conducted over a span of one year to provide a better understanding of the bullying problem in Singapore. The first survey was conducted in 2006 on secondary school students, and the second was conducted in 2007 on primary school pupils. The surveys aimed to examine the prevalence, nature, and effects of school bullying in Singapore, the sources of support sought by these victims, and to draw up a profile of the victims and their bullies, and of self-reported bullies.

1.3 Defining bullying

Although there is no standard definition of bullying, researchers have generally agreed on several key features of bullying. Bullying is seen as any hurtful behaviour committed that is both intentional and repetitive (Sveinsson & Morris, 2007). It has been linked to harmful physical, psychological or emotional consequences for the victim which can be long lasting. There is also an imbalance of power between the bully and the victim, and this sense of power can be real or perceived. In this study, any intentional behaviour likely to cause harm, and committed on the respondents at least twice within a month in their previous school year, would be considered bullying.

1.4 Pilot studies

A largely quantitative questionnaire was first designed based on literature review and the experiences of staff working with children and youths victimised by peers for the secondary school survey and later adapted for the primary school survey. Efforts were made to keep both questionnaires as similar as possible for comparison purposes, but some changes appropriate for the younger respondents were made such as the use of simpler English, and some items were pooled or deleted to shorten the interview.

Pilot studies were conducted for both surveys to test the length and ease of administering the interview, and respondents' understanding of the questions. Feedback obtained from respondents was incorporated, and questionnaire items were refined or deleted along the way. Respondents for the pilot studies were children and youths from the various service centres of Singapore Children's Society, and were excluded from the sample for the main study.

1.5 Sample description

Stratified random sampling was used in both surveys and respondents were selected according to their gender, ethnicity, and level of education in the previous school year so as to generate a sample that was nationally representative of students with respect to those variables (Ministry of Education, 2007b; Singapore Department of Statistics, 2006).

A total of 1299 students took part in the two surveys. 513 secondary school students aged 13 to (exceptionally) 20 years old, with a mean age of 15.2 years, took part in the survey on secondary school students, and 786 primary school pupils aged 6 to (exceptionally) 16 years old, with a mean age of 10.3 years, took part in the primary school survey. There were 256 males (49.9%) and 257 females (50.1%) in the secondary school sample, and 395 boys (50.3%) and 391 girls (49.7%) in the primary school sample.

The four major ethnic groups in Singapore were included in both samples. The secondary school sample contained 70.0% Chinese, 19.5% Malays, 9.0% Indians and 1.5% Others

(e.g., Eurasians). The primary school sample contained a main sample (N = 600) of 73.5% Chinese, 13.7% Malays, 10.3% Indians, and 2.5% Others, and an additional sample of minority groups of Malays (N=87) and Indians (N=99) to allow for analyses of ethnic differences. The overall ethnic distribution of the primary school sample was 56.1% Chinese, 21.5% Malays, 20.5% Indians and 1.9% Others.

The surveys were based on the students' recall of bullying experiences in the previous school year. Therefore eligible respondents for the secondary school survey in 2006 must have been attending a secondary school in 2005. Similarly, eligible primary school respondents must have been attending a local primary school in 2006 to qualify for inclusion in the 2007 survey.

In the survey on secondary school students, only pupils from Secondary 2 to 5 at the time of the interview were surveyed in order to meet the requirement that all pupils must have been in secondary school the preceding year. The survey therefore covered pupils who had been in levels from Secondary 1 through 4 (Normal Academic), but the experiences of Secondary 4 (Express, and Normal Technical) and Secondary 5 students were not covered. In the primary school survey, students from Primary 2 to Secondary 1 at the time of the interview were surveyed, so the experiences reported covered from Primary 1 through 6.

A more detailed description of the demographic statistics can be found in Appendix C.

1.6 Procedure

Ethics approval for the study was obtained from the Society's internal Ethics Review Committee before the study commenced. Data for this study was collected in two separate surveys. Participants for both surveys were recruited by two different local research companies; Joshua Research Consultants was engaged to collect the data for the secondary school survey while The Research Pacific Group collected the data for the primary school survey. Suitable respondents who met the sampling criteria were invited by trained interviewers to take part in the one-to-one interview at home. The home was chosen to avoid biases by restricting sample selection to certain schools or catchment areas. The voluntary nature of the study was stressed to the respondents who were also informed they could withdraw participation at any point of the interview. Informed consent from each student was obtained before the interview commenced. Additional parental consent was also obtained for each primary school student.

Before the start of the interview, respondents were given a brief overview of the study by the interviewer, as well as a description of the questionnaire format and an illustration on how to use the rating scales. The interviewers then took the participants through the questionnaire, missing questions or sections where appropriate, and recorded their responses. Each interview took no more than 20 minutes to complete. At the end of the interviews, participants were thanked for their time and presented with a token of appreciation. A free helpline number was also given to participants should they wish to speak with someone about their bullying experiences; the number for Family Service Centre Helpline was given to secondary school students while Tinkle Friend Helpline number was given to the primary school students. All interviews were conducted in English (the medium of instruction in Singapore schools).

1.7 Survey instruments

The questionnaires for both secondary and primary school students consisted of five main sections dealing with:

1. forms of bullying experienced,
2. reported consequences of bullying,
3. sources of support and their perceived effectiveness,
4. details of the bullies as far as known to the victims, and
5. details of respondents who also admitted to bullying.

To examine the prevalence of bullying and the common types of bullying behaviours faced by our students, respondents were presented with a list of common physical, verbal, relational and cyber bullying behaviours and asked to rate how often they experienced each hurtful behaviour on an objective frequency scale. To find out the effects of bullying on these victims, respondents were asked, from a list of common physical, emotional and psychological reactions to bullying, if they had experienced any of those effects. For sources of support, secondary school students were asked, from a list of people commonly approached, whether they approached any of them, and how effective they found them to be. In the primary school survey though, pupils were asked to list up to two persons they informed, and how effective they found each of them to be. Both groups of students were also asked to provide some demographic details of their bullies like gender, ethnicity and educational level. If the victim was bullied by more than one person, he or she would be asked to identify the bully he or she was most affected by. Finally, they were also asked if they themselves engaged in any bullying behaviours.

There were further slight variations in the questions for the secondary and primary school students in each of the sections, which will be described in the reports of each section. The questionnaires were translated into Chinese, with the accuracy of the translations independently checked by native speakers of the language. The English version of the questionnaires for primary and secondary school students can be found in Appendices A and B respectively. The Chinese version of the questionnaires are available upon request.

Chapters 2 to 5 below are devoted to each of the aspects of bullying examined in this study. Chapter 2 examines the prevalence of bullying in our schools, and identifies who the victims and their bullies are. It also explores the group of students who admitted to bullying others. Chapter 3 then highlights the prevalence of the different forms of bullying, while Chapter 4 addresses the effects of bullying on its victims. Chapter 5 looks at the sources of support for these victims, and their perceived effectiveness. In each of these chapters, a review of previous research is provided, followed by findings from the present study and a short discussion of these findings. Chapter 6, the last chapter, gives a summary of the findings in the study and its implications, and suggests directions for future research.

For simplicity, much statistical analysis has been omitted from the main report. Readers interested to know more about the statistical analyses used and the results obtained can refer to Appendix D.

CHAPTER 2
Prevalence Of Bullying

2.1 Extent and trends of bullying

2.1.1 Prevalence of children and youths involved in bullying

The prevalence of bullying varies considerably from country to country. The rates of children and adolescents being bullied ranges from a conservative 8% in Norway (Olweus, 1993) to high of 75% in the United States (Hoover, Oliver, & Hazler, 1992). Prevalence rates in other countries like England (Boultan & Smith, 1994; Boulton & Underwood, 1992) and Canada (Bentley & Li, 1995; Charach, Pepler, & Ziegler, 1995) generally hovers around 20%. Although such variations can be explained partially by differences in culture and language (Sveinsson & Morris, 2007), substantial variations have also been found within the same country. For instance, studies in the United States alone found prevalence rates as low as 10% (Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988) and as high as 75% (Hoover et al., 1992), suggesting such variations were most likely due to differences in methods of assessment and how bullying was conceptualised in these studies (Sveinsson & Morris, 2007; Thompson, Arora, & Sharp, 2002). For example, the low prevalence rate of 10% reported by Perry et al. (1988) only concerned victims of extreme bullying, while the 75% incidence rate reported by Hoover et al. (1992) included children who were bullied at least once during their school years.

Locally, a few studies on the incidence of school bullying have been conducted in recent years, also yielding varying results from 3.7 cases per 1000 students on one end as reported by the Ministry of Education in 2006 (The Straits Times, 23 May 2007) to 95% found by CABCY on the other end (The Straits Times, 19 June 2006). Other local studies like the collaborative effort between Northeast Community Development Council and Fei Yue Counselling Centre found almost half of over two thousand secondary school students surveyed were bullied at one time or another in their school years (The Straits Times, 30 March 2003), while another study by the Health Promotion Board puts the rate of bullying at around 30% (The Straits Times, 22 January 2008). However, details of the above studies were not available to us.

Compared to the large variations in the number of children and adolescents reporting being bullied, there appears to be more consistency between studies on the proportion of students who confessed to bullying others. On the whole, the proportion of children and adolescents engaging in bullying behaviours ranges from 5% to 30% (Fekkes, Pijpers, & Verloove-Vanhorick, 2005). Compared to the range of students being bullied, it is clear that there are generally fewer students admitting to bullying others, which could possibly be due to students being reluctant to admit to engaging in socially undesirable behaviours like these, but it is also to be expected that bullies are likely to bully more than one person.

2.1.2 Trends in bullying

The prevalence of bullying has largely been examined in relation to age, gender and ethnicity. Bullying usually declines as children grow older. More bullying has also been found in primary than secondary schools (Olweus, 1993). For instance, in his nationwide study of primary and secondary school students in Norway, Olweus (1993) found the proportion of victims gradually dropped with age, and a steep decline was recorded for females from age 12 to 13 years old, the time when they progressed from primary to secondary school. Similarly, researchers in America found bullying occurred more frequently among pupils in Grades 6 to 8 than those in Grades 9 to 10 (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton & Scheidt, 2001). Grades 6 to 8 correspond roughly to our Primary 6 through Secondary 2, and Grades 9 to 10 is approximately the equivalent of our upper secondary level 3 and 4. Such reduction in the amount of bullying with age can been attributed to the cognitive development of children, when young people at that age has typically developed a greater understanding of their social world, and are more in control their emotions (Berger, 2001).

Gender differences have also been examined. Although there is substantial evidence suggesting more boys are victims (Rigby & Slee, 1999; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Wolke, Woods, Stanford & Schulz, 2001), Baldy (1998) found more girls than boys were bullied, while Bentley and Li (1995), and Whitney and Smith (1993) reported equal proportions of male and female victims in their respective studies.

Studies also indicated that bullies tend to be male. For instance, Rigby (2000) found 1 in 5 boys compared to 1 in 10 girls were bullies. However, some researchers argued that this was because most research on the incidence of bullying had focused predominantly on male forms of victimisation like physical aggression, which is generally avoided by girls (Crick, Bigbee, & Howes, 1996). Furthermore, boys are generally more approving of bullying (Rigby, 1997), while girls tend to hold more negative attitudes towards bullying (Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). Such difference in attitudes could have influenced their respective willingness to admit to engaging in bullying behaviours, especially in studies using self-report. Nonetheless, studies employing different methods like observations (Craig & Pepler, 1997) and peer nominations (Boulton & Smith, 1994) have also found boys to bully more often.

Most bullying appeared to be perpetrated on other students of the same gender. Fekkes et al. (2005) found boys were bullied mostly by other boys in schools, and Bentley and Li (1995) found males were rarely bullied by females. This could have been influenced by some difference in power that inhibits girls from aggressing towards boys or admit to doing so, or discourages boys from reporting it (Felix & McMahon, 2006). Furthermore, observations of female bullies revealed that males were only targets of their bullying in about half the cases (Craig, Pepler, & Atlas, 2000). There was less consensus where the bullies of female victims are concerned. Some studies have reported a substantial number of girls were bullied by other girls (Fekkes et al., 2005) while others have found girls to be frequently victimised by boys (Baldry & Farrington, 1999).

Research on the role of ethnicity on the prevalence of bullying is scarce and has produced mixed results. The majority of studies have shown that being an ethnic minority has no relation to the rate of bullying (Junger, 1990; Moran, Smith, Thompson, & Whitney, 1993; Siann, Callaghan, Glissov, Lockhart, & Rawson, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993). However, a cross-national study on close to 4000 students in England and Germany found ethnic minorities were more likely to be bullied even though the relationship was a weak one (Wolke et al, 2001). Yet support has also been found for within-race victimisation (Boulton, 1995).

In our review of the literature, we did not manage to find any information about comparable bullying trends in Singapore. But because other research examining these variables has consistently found boys and girls of various educational levels and ethnicities to bully and be bullied differently, it was important for us to look at how influential these variables are in our local samples.

2.2 The present study

In this study, we wanted to measure the extent of bullying among secondary and primary school students in Singapore. We also wanted to examine who the victims and their bullies were, as well as students who engaged in bullying behaviours.

To measure the extent of bullying, respondents in both surveys were presented with a list of common hurtful behaviours and asked how often they experienced each of them in their last school year using an objective frequency scale. Any respondent who experienced any of those harmful behaviours at least twice in a single month would be considered a victim of bullying.

To examine the characteristics of victims and their bullies, demographic details like gender, educational level, and ethnicity of the victims as well as their bullies were obtained. If the respondent was bullied by more than one person, he or she was asked to describe the bully he or she was most affected by.

Finally, respondents in both surveys were also asked if they themselves engaged in any of those bullying behaviours. Primary school students who admitted to bullying others were also asked to provide the reason for doing so. Secondary school victims, on the other hand, were asked if they bullied anyone before they themselves were bullied.

2.3 Findings

To allow comparisons, the data collected from secondary and primary school students were considered separately. Frequencies of responses were calculated, and appropriate chi-square tests were conducted to compare differences between students within secondary, and within primary schools, in relation to gender, educational level, and ethnicity, as well as differences between primary and secondary schools.

2.3.1 Extent of bullying

Our study found approximately 1 in 4 secondary school students (25%, N=126) and 1 in 5 primary school students (21%, N=165) surveyed were victims of bullying. This proportion of victims in secondary and primary schools were statistically similar. Out of the respondents who were not bullied, 84% of those in secondary schools and 81% of those in primary schools did not report experiencing any hurtful behaviour at all in their previous school year.

2.3.2 Trends in bullying

2.3.2.1 Victims and their bullies

The gender, educational level, and ethnicity of victims were compared to that of their bullies in both primary and secondary schools, as well as between the two types of schools. Key findings in relation to those characteristics are summarised as follows:

Gender

- There were more boys (58%) than girls (42%) who were bullied in primary schools but similar proportions of both genders were victimised in secondary schools.
- Bullies, as identified by victims in both primary and secondary schools, were largely males. There were four times more male than female bullies in primary schools (81% boys and 19% girls), and three times more male bullies in secondary schools (76% male to 24% female).
- Boys in secondary and primary schools were bullied mainly by other boys (97% secondary, and 95% primary school boys). Primary school girls (61%) but not secondary school girls (49%) were more bullied by boys, probably because there were more male bullies in primary schools to begin with. Moreover, male and female bullies, regardless of which school they belonged to, tended to pick on someone of the same gender. In fact, 84% of the 32 female bullies identified by victims in our primary school sample were targeting other girls, and 68% of the 133 male bullies were bullying other boys. Similarly for the secondary school sample, 93% of 30 female bullies were bullying other girls, and 72% of 96 male bullies were bullying other boys (see Table 7 in Appendix D for gender distribution of victims and their bullies).

Educational level

- Although somewhat more bullying was reported for secondary than for primary pupils, both secondary and primary school students tended to report similar amounts of bullying from Primary 1 to Secondary 4.
- Most of the bullies belonged to the same educational level as their victims although there were some secondary school victims who were bullied by schoolmates from a higher or lower educational level, and some primary school victims who were bullied by someone older.
- Majority of the victims were victimised by their own classmates. 69% of secondary school victims, and an even higher 78% of primary school victims were bullied by someone from the same class.

Ethnicity

- In secondary schools, Malays (29%) had a proportionately higher bullying prevalence rate than the Chinese (59%) and Indians (7%) considering the national ethnic distribution of Malays (14%), Chinese (76%) and Indians (9%). No differences were found among the ethnic groups in primary schools. 'Others' were excluded from analyses in both surveys due to their small sample sizes.

- Chinese and Malay victims, regardless of whether they were in secondary or primary schools, were bullied mainly by someone of the same race. Indian victims appeared to be more bullied by the Chinese. However, this was not because Indian pupils were being selectively victimised by Chinese pupils, but possibly an incidental result due to the relatively small Indian population. The Chinese make up three-quarters of the population compared to 9% Indians, so there are correspondingly more Chinese bullies, and some Indians will happen to get bullied by them simply because there are more of them present[1]. In general, bullies were found to aggress against someone of the same race, so there were far more Chinese bullying other Chinese than bullying Indians or Malays. For instance, 62% of the 119 Chinese bullies identified by victims in our primary school sample were bullying other Chinese compared to 24% of them who bullied Indians (see Table 13 in Appendix D for ethnicity of victims and their bullies).

2.3.2.2 Self-reported bullies

Similar proportions of all secondary and primary school respondents also reported engaging in some form of bullying behaviours themselves. 10% of the 513 secondary school students and 5% of the 786 primary school pupils surveyed admitted to bullying others. A larger proportion of these self-reported bullies, regardless of which type of school they belonged to, were boys (70% secondary, and 69% primary schools). They were equally likely to come from any educational level or ethnic group.

Some of these self-reported bullies were also victims of bullying. The proportion of these bully-victims in both school types made up a small percentage of victims but constituted a large proportion of the bullies. In the secondary school survey, the 28 bully-victims made up more than half the total number of self-admitted bullies (53%) but only made up less than a quarter of the total number of victims (22%). Similarly, the 26 bully-victims identified in the primary school sample made up two-thirds of the total number of self-admitted bullies but only 16% of the total victims. The Venn diagram (for the primary school sample) which illustrates this relationship clearly, can be found in Figure 3.

[1] This argument may be clearer if the following hypothetical example is considered. Suppose in a school there is only a single pupil of a particular ethnic group, let us say Japanese. If this Japanese child is bullied, it will have to be by a bully from another ethnic group, since there are no other Japanese pupils. The bully would most likely be Chinese, because the Chinese are the majority. This does not mean that Chinese bullies are picking on Japanese children, it is just that Chinese bullies are more common than bullies of other ethnicity. As a general rule, the smaller a minority, the greater the proportion of children bullying them will come from the majority, without this inevitable fact implying anything about the minority, as such, are being scapegoated or targeted.

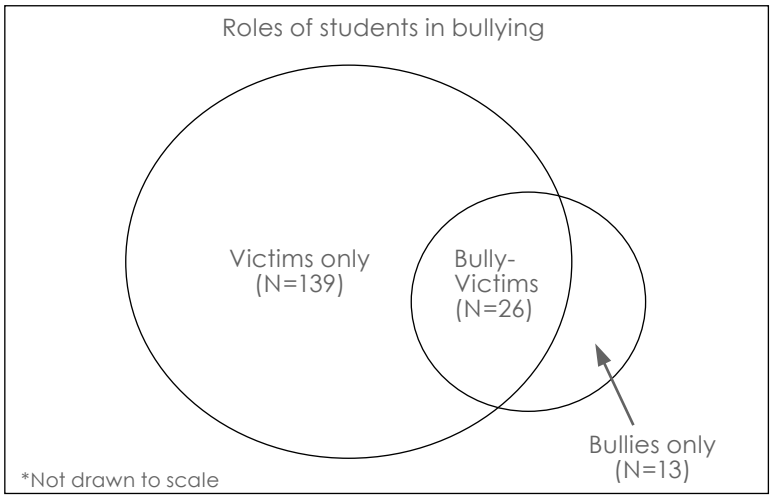

Figure 3: Roles played by primary school students involved in bullying in schools

The 26 self-admitted bullies in the second survey on primary school students were also asked why they bullied others. Most of them, victim or not, mentioned they bullied others out of "revenge" (56%). A number of them also said the other persons made them "angry" (15%) or "self defence" (5%), but there was a handful of them who were "bored" or simply "going along with friends" (3% each).

On the other hand, secondary school respondents were asked specifically if they had bullied others before they were victimised, and 14% of those victims admitted to bullying others even before they themselves were bullied.

2.4 Discussion of results for prevalence of bullying

Our findings suggest that bullying, defined as any intentional behaviour likely to cause harm, and committed on the respondents at least twice within a month is pervasive in Singapore schools, and it is not restricted to any gender, educational level or ethnic group. In the present study, we found between one-fifth to one-quarter of students reported having experienced bullying in schools. Compared to other local studies, our incidence rates were more similar to the prevalence rate reported by the Health Promotion Board. Moreover, internal studies conducted by the Ministry of Education also indicated a prevalence rate between 20 to 30 percent although no details of the studies were given (The Straits Times, 22 January 2008). Nonetheless, if these figures were extrapolated into the local school population (Ministry of Education, 2007b), this would mean more than 100,000 students are regularly victimised in schools. While there may be disagreements about the actual number of students who are bullied and even the way bullying is defined in different studies, we cannot deny bullying exists in our schools and it is a very real and difficult problem faced by the children and youths who have to deal with it. In fact, as far back as year 2003, the Institute of Mental Health's (IMH) Child Guidance Clinic had reported seeing several cases of children every month who were seeking help as a result of being bullied (The Straits Times, 30 March 2003). More recent figures were not available. Furthermore, approximately 20% of close to four thousand calls to Tinkle Friend each year, the free helpline for primary school children run by Singapore Children's Society, also concerns peer relationship issues like bullying.

A small but interesting group of students emerged in our study – these students were involved in both bullying and being bullied. This group of bully-victims was found in both the primary and secondary school samples and made up 3% of the total primary school respondents and 5% of the total secondary school sample. They generally made up a large proportion of the self-admitted bullies but constituted a small percentage of the total number of victims. Little is known about this group of bully-victims and research on them elsewhere has focused mainly on identifying the personality traits of these students, who have been shown to possess very different characteristics from those who are involved solely in bullying or being bullied. This group of children and adolescents tend to be hot tempered, aggressive and behave in a way that will evoke or reinforce aggressive experiences (Woods & Wolke, 2004). They are easily provoked and may react towards those who accidentally provoked them with hostility, or they may provoke other children causing others to respond to them with hostility. In both cases, the bully-victims may embroil in a fight but claim self-defence later on (Beale, 2001). These bully-victims have also been called reactive bullies or provocative victims as a result (Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005). As our surveys did not examine the personality traits of the respondents, we do not know if this group of bully-victims in our study possesses these characteristics or not, although the reasons given by those in our primary school sample for bullying others seem to suggest so.

In addition to the prevalence rates, the patterns of bullying were also remarkably similar between students in primary and secondary schools although some slight differences exist as well. Majority of the bullies identified by their victims in both primary and secondary schools were targeting students of the same gender, and most of them were boys. There are two important things to note in this finding. Firstly, the result seems to suggest that bullying is a problem that is affecting largely the male population in schools, which is not surprising considering the different social gender roles played by boys and girls. Male aggression is traditionally more tolerated, sometimes even encouraged, while females are brought up to be sugar and spice. Such disparity between the two genders could have sent a message to children that bullying is acceptable for boys but not for girls. The second point to note is the prevalent same-sex victimisation we found in the present study. This same-sex bullying becomes clearer when we look at the patterns of children and adolescents' friendships. Children and adolescents' friendships are predominantly same-sex (Bukowski, Gauze, Hora, & Newcomb, 1994). This means they tend to have more contact with peers of the same gender, which can translate into greater opportunities for conflicts to arise between them. However, we did find more primary school girls being bullied by boys than girls in our survey. This is perhaps due to the young age of the primary school children who are less aware of and less influenced by such gender roles. As we can see, where gender is concerned, it plays a stronger role in the patterns of bullying than the type of school per se.

With regards to the effects of educational level on bullying, findings in both surveys seem to indicate the same trends. Firstly, all educational levels from Primary 1 through Secondary 4 seemed to report similar amounts of bullying. Like gender, bullying seemed to have pervaded all schools and levels of education, and the amount of bullying appeared relatively stable across educational levels. This is unlike results obtained in other studies which found bullying tends to decrease as children and adolescents progressed through school. However, the cross-sectional nature of our surveys precludes any conclusions on the stability or chronicity of bullying to be made. Nonetheless, this is a clear indication that bullying does not simply go away as children get older, and all students, no matter how old they are, are susceptible to bullying in schools. Another important finding to note is that most primary and secondary school victims were bullied by someone in the same class, which is consistent with what other researchers have found (Genta, Menesini, Fonzi, Costabile, & Smith, 1996). There are two possible explanations to account for this finding. The first explanation is a simple effect of the frequency-of-contact – merely having students share a class can mean that if some students are apt to bully others, the victims are, due to their accessibility, likely to be from the same class. The second explanation concerns the group dynamics of students – there may be some kind of class culture that allows or accepts bullying, as a result of some particular social patterns that emerge and get established in classes of pupils. Nonetheless, both explanations imply that confining students to the same group for many years could have created or maintained an environment that condones bullying, and has serious implications in the implementation of anti-bullying strategies.

Lastly, some differences as well as similarities were observed between victims from both types of schools with regards to the role of ethnicity on the patterns in bullying. There were more Malays who bullied and were bullied in secondary schools compared to primary schools. Nonetheless, most of those Malay victims were bullied by other Malays. In fact, most bullies found in our study, regardless of which type of school they belonged to, were picking on students of the same race. This is reassuring in a way as it implies ethnicity does not determine whether a student gets victimised or not. This result is particularly important in countries like Singapore which does not have a homogenous population but is made up of one major and several minority groups.

CHAPTER 3
Forms Of Bullying

3.1 Forms of bullying for victims of bullying

To appreciate the trends in bullying, we need to consider the various types of bullying. Bullying has traditionally been classified into three groups: physical, verbal, or relational (Smokowski & Kopasz, 2005). Physical bullying refers to deliberate aggression against a person or a person's belongings and includes hitting, pushing, or kicking. Physical aggression is thought to be the least sophisticated form of bullying because such bullies are relatively easy to detect. Verbal bullying involves the use of words to hurt or shame its victims. Examples of such bullying include name-calling, making threats or insults, and spreading rumours about the victims. This type of bullying happens very quickly which makes it hard to detect and intervene. Many researchers have also found this method of victimisation to be most prevalent (Baldry, 1998; Bentley & Li, 1995; Genta et al., 1996; Vettenburg, 1999; Whitney & Smith, 1993). Relational bullying, on the other hand, refers to behaviours intended to harm another person's relationship. This can include withdrawal of friendship, excluding a person from a group, or sabotaging the person's relationship with others. In relational bullying, friendship is used as a weapon by the perpetrator.

A recent addition to this classification is cyber bullying. With the rapid advancement and availability of technology, bullying is quickly taking a new form. Cyber aggression involves bullying others using technology as the weapon (Aluedse, 2006). It includes sending hurtful or threatening text messages through the mobile phone or internet (e.g., in emails, blogs, social networking websites like MySpace and Facebook, instant chat messengers etc.). While the three traditional forms of bullying have been heavily studied, research on cyber bullying is greatly lacking due to its recency. This lack of information, coupled with the cyber bullying incidents that have been surfacing repeatedly in the media, has caused great concern.

Gender differences in the forms of bullying have been studied extensively and the trends found in these studies have largely been stable. Many researchers have found a major difference in the way boys and girls bully. Boys generally use more physical aggression whereas girls tend to prefer more covert ways of harming others through relational bullying by rumour spreading, threatening to withdraw a friendship, or by excluding others from the group (Craig, 1998; Rigby & Slee, 1999; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Wolke et al., 2001). Such a difference has been linked to the different social roles for boys and girls (Lagerspetz & Bjorkqvist, 1994). Social psychologists believed that girls, although not averse to aggression, seldom express their anger overtly but choose to do so through alternative, relational ways due to social and cultural norms (Safran, 2007). However, some researchers have also found boys were just as likely to encounter relational manipulation like social exclusion and having rumours being spread about them (Baldry & Farrington, 1999; Crick & Grotpeter, 1996; Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1997). Other than this, males and females have also been found to be equally likely to bully using verbal aggression (Baldry & Farrington, 1999).

Research on the influence of age on the forms of bullying has generally indicated that overt forms of bullying like physical and verbal abuse tend to decline, while relational victimisation becomes more common with age (Craig, 1998; Whitney & Smith, 1993). This has been attributed to the social and cognitive development of children. According to Bjorkqvist (1994), bullying among young children begins as primarily physical due to their immature social and cognitive capacities. As their social and mental skills develop, they are able to understand the emotional and mental states of others and become adept at hurting others in non-physical ways. This newly acquired cognitive acuity can also help these bullies avoid detection. As such, direct forms of bullying gradually decrease in place of the subtler and more sophisticated relational bullying.

A review of the available literature did not find any empirical evidence on the role of ethnicity on the various forms of bullying. Nonetheless, it was suggested that race would play a larger part in the content of bullying of ethnic minorities even if they are not actually bullied more (Mooney, Creeser, & Blatchford, 1991). For instance, victimisation of ethnic minorities may take the form of racial taunts like name-calling.

3.2 The present study

In this study, we were interested to find out the prevalence of the various types of bullying behaviours faced by secondary and primary school students in Singapore.

To obtain as objective an indication of the bullying scenario in Singapore as possible, a list of physical, verbal, relational and cyber bullying behaviours was presented to the students, who were asked to rate how often they encountered each of the behaviours in their previous school year. Respondents were told to consider only behaviours that were intentional and disregard actions they considered "play-play". Respondents could select more than one bullying behaviour.

In the questionnaire for secondary school students, they were asked to rate how often they experienced each of the bullying behaviours on a six-point scale, with "0" being never, "1" being less than once a month, "2" being 2 – 3 times a month, "3" being once a week, "4" being 2 – 3 times a week, and "5" being more than 4 times a week. However, in our pilot studies, we found that primary school children, particularly the younger ones, had great difficulties understanding such abstract concepts of time and most of them were not able to perform such mental calculations. As such, we had to simplify the frequency scale for them and use one that better suited their level of comprehension, without overly compromising the comparativity of data collected from both surveys.

Consequently, the scale used in the primary school survey was condensed and simplified into a four-point scale with "1" being 0 times a month, "2" being 1 time a month, "3" being 2 times a month and "4" being 4 times a month. In addition, the items were reworded into simpler and more colloquial English. For instance, "preventing others from befriending you" was simplified to "tell others not to friend you". Some similar items were also pooled together or deleted, while some new items were added. For example, items describing aggression towards one's belongings like "taking your belongings and refusing to return them", "hiding your belongings", "damaging your belongings" and "demanding your money" were combined into "take your things or money and don't want to give them back, or hide or spoil your things".

3.3 Findings

To allow comparisons, data collected from both secondary and primary school samples were considered separately and not pooled together. Frequencies of the responses were calculated, and appropriate chi-square tests were conducted to explore differences between the four forms of bullying behaviours and students in secondary, and in primary schools, and between the two groups of respondents. Group differences for these various forms of bullying were also examined in relation to the gender, educational level, and ethnicity of the victims of bullying.

Figure 1 shows the prevalence of the bullying behaviours experienced by the victims of bullying in secondary and primary schools at least two times in a single month. The key findings for the four types of bullying can be summarised as follows:

Verbal

- Verbal bullying was most prevalent within and between secondary and primary school students. Over half the victims from both secondary (69%) and primary schools (58%) were called hurtful names or had vulgarities used on them at least two times in a single month.
- Boys and girls in secondary and in primary schools, and between both types of schools experienced similar amounts of verbal bullying.
- Victims across all educational levels from Primary 1 through Secondary 4 reported experiencing relatively similar amounts of verbal aggression.
- Proportionately, Indian victims in primary schools were more often taunted because of their race (40% Indian victims compared to 6% Chinese and 14% Malay victims). Other than that, the types of bullying appeared relatively similar across the different ethnic groups of victims within and between both secondary and primary schools.

Cyber

- Cyber bullying was least commonly experienced by victims of bullying in both secondary and primary schools. All the cyber bullying behaviours surveyed were consistently ranked among the lowest with less than ten percent of victims from either type of school being bullied that way.
- Male and female victims within and between secondary and primary schools reported relatively similar amounts of cyber aggression.
- Victims across all educational levels from Primary 1 through Secondary 4 seemed to experience similar amounts of cyber abuse.
- The amount of cyber bullying experienced by victims of all ethnic groups appeared similar in secondary and in primary schools, and between both types of schools.

Relational

- Out of the four forms of bullying, the amount of relational bullying experienced by victims within and between secondary and primary schools was intermediate.

- Girls, regardless of the type of school they were in, tended to experience more bullying behaviours that were relational. Among the relationally hurtful actions surveyed, more secondary but not primary school girls (44%) experienced rumour spreading than boys(17%) in the same type of school, whereas more primary but not secondary school girls experienced withdrawal of friendships (47% for girls and 25% for boys), and social exclusion (54% for girls compared to 25% for boys).

- The prevalence of relationally hurtful behaviours appeared relatively similar across all educational levels.

- The amount of relational bullying experienced by victims of all ethnicity appeared similar within and between secondary and primary schools.

Physical

- Out the four forms of bullying, the amount of physical bullying experienced by secondary and primary school victims was intermediate.

- More boys than girls in secondary (24% for boys, and 5% for girls) but not primary schools experienced physical aggression like hitting.

- Physical forms of bullying were more common among secondary than primary school victims. 49% of secondary school victims compared to 38% of primary school victims had experienced some form of physical bullying at least two times in a single month.

- The amount of physical aggression experienced by victims of all ethnic groups appeared similar within and between both types of schools.

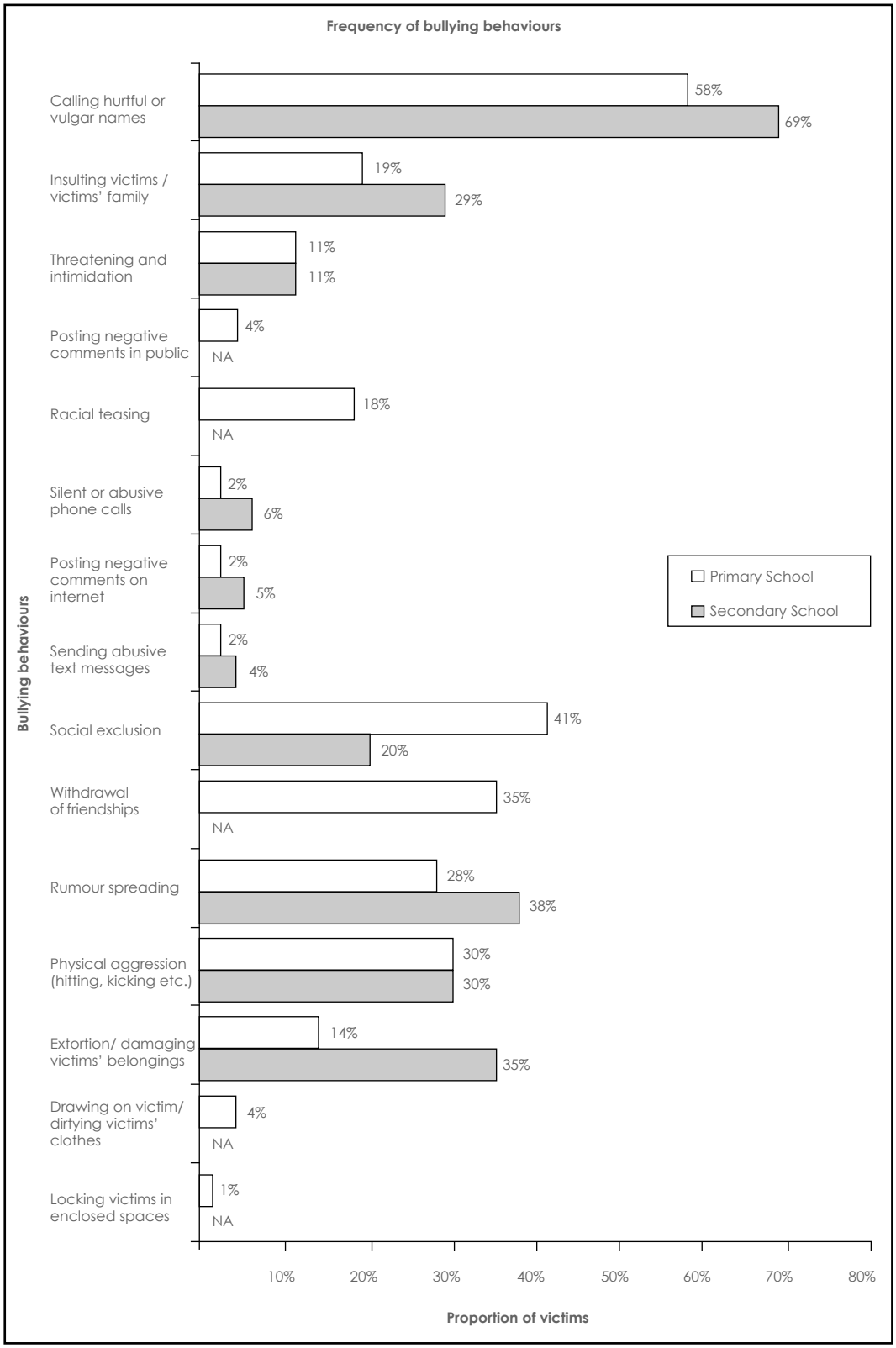

Figure 1: Frequency of bullying behaviours experienced by secondary and primary school victims at least two times in a single month

3.4 Discussion of results for forms of bullying

In this section, the prevalence of the four types of bullying – physical, verbal, relational, and cyber – experienced by secondary and primary school victims was measured. These different types of bullying behaviours were also examined in relation to the gender, educational levels, and ethnicity of the victims.

By and large, victims of different gender, and various educational level and ethnicity were bullied in similar ways regardless of the type of school they belonged to. Overall, verbal bullying, particularly name-calling and the usage of vulgarities on the victims, was most prevalent among victims in both types of schools. This is consistent with findings from studies elsewhere (e.g. Wolke et al., 2001). Such high prevalence for this kind of bullying is particularly worrying though not unexpected since hardly any effort is required by the perpetrators to hurt someone with words. Verbal aggression is also harder to detect and hence more difficult to intervene since it does not leave behind any obvious injuries or scars. People with the mentality of "sticks and stones may break my bones, but words can never hurt me" may also fail to realise words can also be damaging (the harmful consequences of bullying will be addressed in the next chapter, Chapter 4). Consequently, they do not regard such actions as bullying and when approached, victims of verbal aggression may callously be turned away or ignored by them instead of giving victims the help they need. It is therefore important for adults to realise and accept that name-calling can hurt.

The low prevalence of cyber bullying in both primary and secondary schools came as a surprise given the amount of media attention it has been receiving. Despite its low prevalence (compared to the other forms of bullying), we cannot be too quick to dismiss it because of the obscurity of this type of bullying. The faceless nature of cyber bullying means that victims could maliciously be slandered in cyber space without ever knowing who their aggressor or aggressors are, and this can cause greater distress to them than traditional bullying where the perpetrators are known (The Straits Times, 11 March 2008). The abuser could even be the victim's "best friend" in school, and uncertainties like these can add to the stress of being bullied. Unlike traditional forms of bullying, cyber bullying is not restricted by any physical boundaries so simply staying away from school may provide little or no respite for the victim from the abuse. In fact, most cyber bullying happens at home, right in front of a screen (ABC News, 12 September 2006). And very often, advising the victims to turn off the computers or ignore those remarks does not work as many of them feel compelled to know what is being said about them (Channel NewsAsia, 03 December 2007). Moreover, the perceived anonymity may also encourage regular folks who are normally not aggressive to take part in the bullying (The Straits Times, 11 March 2008). This perceived distance can also make some young people think there are no consequences for their actions (The Straits Times, 30 January 2007). And since young people are natives to the cyber world whereas adults are the immigrants, it becomes even more difficult for technologically challenged adults to monitor and intervene. However, research on cyber bullying is still in its infancy, and more studies may reveal the full complexity of this phenomenon.

Strong gender differences were found in the present study for physical and relational bullying. Regardless of the type of school they belonged to, female victims tended to experience more relational bullying. Boys experienced more physical aggression, but this difference was only found for secondary school boys. To an extent, this finding supports the results obtained by other researchers (Craig, 1998; Rigby & Slee, 1999; Smith & Sharp, 1994; Wolke et al., 2001). Although our findings also indicated physical aggression was equally prevalent among primary school boys and girls, this could have been influenced by the stage of social and cognitive development they were at (Bjorkqvist, 1994). They could have reached an in-between stage whereby they have acquired sufficient skills to use certain types of relational bullying (i.e., withdrawal of friendship and social exclusion) but not the (presumably) more complex ones like rumour spreading, so it is not surprisingly to find physical aggression still prevalent among females at that stage. Taken together, this finding suggests that the interplay between gender and development seems to have a stronger influence on the prevalence of the various forms of bullying than these factors by themselves. As studies have traditionally focused on differences in either gender or development, the present finding can serve as a caution to researchers against examining variables in isolation.

Lastly, results obtained in the present study suggest that to a large extent, ethnicity has no influence on how a student gets bullied, regardless of whether the victim is a primary or secondary school student. However, we did find Indians in primary schools were racially teased more often. But recalling how Indians in primary schools were actually not more bullied by the other races (see Chapter 2 for explanation), this seems to suggest that although the Indian minorities are not more bullied, racial bullying becomes an option open to the ethnic majorities as a method of bullying, and being the smallest minority, it is not surprising to find the Indians being more bullied this way. This supports the notion that race plays a bigger part in the content than the amount of bullying, as proposed by Mooney et al. (1991). But because racial taunting was not included in the secondary school survey, we do not know if this pattern will also emerge for the Indian victims in secondary schools.

CHAPTER 4
Consequences Of Bullying

4.1 Effects of bullying for victims of bullying

While bullying was once considered a harmless childhood phenomenon, more and more people have come to realise it entails many undesirable consequences for the victims, which can be far-reaching. Many aspects of the lives of victimised children and adolescents including their social and emotional well-being, and physical health have been known to be affected as a result of being bullied. The effects of bullying in relation to the emotions, self perceptions, physical health, academic achievement, retaliatory violence, and suicide ideation of victimised children and adolescents have all been well documented.

Bullying has been associated with a range of negative emotional responses such as feelings of anger, sadness, hurt, self pity, confusion, embarrassment, and loneliness (Hodges & Perry, 1999; O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1993; Olweus, 1993). For instance, Rigby and Slee (1993) found from their sample of 38,000 primary and secondary school students, more than half of those who were bullied in the course of a year had felt sad or angry afterwards. Anxiety and depression are also frequently linked to bullying (Hodges, Malone, & Perry, 1997; O'Connell et al., 1993; Olweus, 1993). The self perception of victimised children and adolescents may also suffer as a consequence of being bullied. For instance, Boulton and Underwood (1992) found, in their interview with 122 eight and ten-year-olds, 80% of those who had been bullied had felt better about themselves before they were victimised, and Thompson, Arora, and Sharp (2002) found victimised children had more negative feelings and views about themselves than their non-bullied peers.

Various psychosomatic symptoms – also classic symptoms of stress – can also develop as a result of being victimised. Sears and Milburn (1990), for instance, believed that children, under such situations, can regress to infantile behaviours like bed wetting, nail biting, and thumb sucking. Their appetite may also be affected and they may develop sleeplessness, unexplained irritability, and uncharacteristic withdrawal like not talking to anyone among other noticeable behavioural changes (Forero, McLellan, Rissel, & Bauman, 1999; Salmon, James, & Smith, 1998; Williams, Chambers, Logan, & Robinson, 1996). The physical health of bullied children also tends to be poorer than students who were not involved in bullying. For instance, bullied children have been found to experience more headaches and stomach aches (Williams et al., 1996). However, it is unclear if these health problems occurred before the bullying or whether bullying happened before the onset of these health complaints (Fekkes et al., 2005). The stress caused by bullying could have led to poorer health, but children with health problems may also be more susceptible to being bullied (Schwartz, Dodge, & Coie, 1993; Hodges et al., 1997). Furthermore, the field of psychosomatic illnesses lacks any generally accepted theory or knowledge about why or how these symptoms come about.

All these reactions can lead to victims feeling worried or afraid of school and potentially result in difficulties concentrating during lessons, school avoidance or absences, and poor school performance (Knoff, 2007). Because most bullying tends to happen in schools, children and adolescents may be reluctant or afraid to go to school. For instance, one

American study reported 7% of eighth graders stayed at home at least one day a month out of fear of bullying (Foltz-Gray, 1996), while other studies found at least 20% of all American students feel frightened at school, and more than 20% of middle schoolers avoided restrooms at school because of bullying (Glew, Rivara, & Feudtner, 2000; Hazler et al., 1993). Other students may also develop psychosomatic symptoms like headaches or stomach aches which have similar effects of avoiding school and escaping the bullies (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996). For this latter group of students, their psychosomatic complaints may or may not be real and it is difficult to distinguish between the two, but the end results are the same for both groups of students: missing school and avoiding the bullies. And because these victims tend to miss many days of school, their results deteriorate and their level of academic achievement also tends to be lower than their non-bullied peers (McNamara & McNamara, 1997). All in all, evidence seems to point towards an inverse relationship between academic performance and being bullied. However, studies examining this relationship have generally obtained mixed results, or found this relationship to be a weak one (Card, Isaacs, & Hodges, 2007).

When avoidance is not successful, victims of bullying may respond to their bullies with aggression in the form of revenge to escape or foil the victimisation. The frustration accumulated from being bullied can also contribute to such reactive violence (Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1997). According to some behavioural theorists, all the anger and resentment caused by a person would continue to build up harmful aggressive energy in the recipient that can only be released through aggressive behaviours directed at the source or a substitute (Thompson et al., 2002). Observation studies as well as student reports have indicated that over half the school fights are started as retaliation against the bullies (Boulton, 1993). A report by the United States Secret Service (2001, cited in Dake, Price, & Telljohann, 2003) looking at the characteristics of students involved in deadly school shootings in the United States also cited bullying as a strong motivation behind those attacks. In the report, two-thirds of the 37 school shootings examined involved attackers who felt "persecuted, bullied, threatened, attacked, or injured by others" before the attack, while the others had "experienced bullying and harassment that was longstanding and severe" (Dake et al., 2003; Mayer, Ybarra, & Fogliatti, 2001).

On the other extreme, there have also been recorded cases of children and adolescents who took their own lives after being bullied (Kumpulainen et al., 1998; Smith, Talamelli, Cowie, Naylor, & Cauhan, 2004). Several cases of children and adolescents who committed suicide in response to bullying have also been reported in the media. Even in Singapore, there was a newspaper report a few years ago about a sixteen-year-old school girl who had committed suicide after having endured being bullied by her schoolmates almost every day for several years (The New Paper, 26 September 2005).

4.2 The present study

In this section of the study, we wanted to see the types of effects bullying had on the victims of bullying in both secondary and primary schools.

A checklist of some common emotional, behavioural, and psychological consequences of bullying was read out to the respondents who were asked if they had experienced any of the effects after being bullied. Respondents were allowed to select more than one response. Emotional responses referred to the various states of affect that victims could

have felt after being bullied and included feelings of anger and sadness. Psychological responses referred to other mental states like having thoughts of suicide. Behavioural responses referred to actions taken by victims after being bullied such as retaliating against the bullies.

Some items in the first questionnaire on secondary school students were reworded into simpler English for the primary school students to facilitate understanding among the younger children. For instance, "destroyed properties" was reworded into "break or spoil things" for the younger respondents. Similar items in the secondary school questionnaire were also omitted or combined in the latter questionnaire for primary school students to shorten the length of the interview. For example, "could not sleep" and "had nightmares" were replaced with "have problem sleeping at night" in the primary school survey. On the other hand, a new item – "feel OK" – was added in the primary school survey to gauge respondents' resilience when being bullied.

4.3 Findings

Data collected from both secondary and primary school samples were not combined but considered separately for comparison reasons. Frequencies of the responses were calculated, and appropriate chi-square tests were conducted to examine differences between the various effects of bullying and the victims of bullying within and between both secondary and primary schools. Group differences for the various responses to bullying were also compared in terms of the gender, educational level, and ethnicity of the bullied respondents.

Figure 2 shows the frequency of the effects experienced by victimised secondary and primary school students as a consequence of being bullied. The key findings for the various effects of bullying can be summarised as follows:

Emotional

- The most commonly reported effects of bullying by victimised students in secondary and primary school students were feelings of anger. Anger was reported by 75% of secondary and 59% of primary school victims of bullying. The second most commonly reported effect of bullying by secondary and primary school students was sadness, which was reported by 46% of secondary and 43% of primary school victims.

- Close to 2 in 5 of the primary school victims reported feeling 'OK' despite being bullied (39%). Further inspection revealed majority of these victims (78%) also reported feeling other effects.

- Female victims in secondary (67% of females compared to 30% males) but not primary schools felt sad more often than boys from the same type of school.

- The number of victims who reported experiencing the various types of emotional reactions to bullying appeared similar across all *educational levels* from Primary 1 through Secondary 4.

- The number of victims who reported experiencing the various types of emotional reactions to bullying appeared similar across all *ethnic groups* within and between the two types of schools.

Psychological

- The frequencies of the various types of psychological responses to bullying experienced by victims appeared similar within and between both secondary and primary schools.

- Both secondary and primary school girls felt bad about themselves more often than boys in the same type of school (36% female and 17% male of secondary school victims; 30% female and 15% male of primary school victims). Female victims in secondary (49% of females to 25% of males) but not primary schools felt like being alone more often than boys from the same type of school.

- The number of victims who reported experiencing the various types of psychological reactions to bullying appeared similar across all *educational levels* from Primary 1 through Secondary 4.

- The number of victims who reported experiencing the various types of psychological reactions to bullying appeared similar across all *ethnic groups* within and between the two types of schools.

Behavioural

- The most commonly reported behavioural effect by the victims was retaliation against their bullies. Over a third of secondary school victims (37%) and over a quarter of primary school victims (27%) did something back to their bullies.

- More boys than girls in primary but not secondary schools retaliated against their bullies (35% male and 17% female primary school victims) and destroyed properties (15% male to 1% female victims in primary schools). More female than male victims in secondary but not primary schools had difficulty sleeping, cried every time they thought about the bullying incident, and harmed themselves (27% female to 10% male; 27% female to 7% male; 18% female to 4% male respectively).

- The number of victims who reported experiencing the various types of behavioural reactions to bullying appeared similar across all educational levels from Primary 1 through Secondary 4.

- More Malay victims in secondary but not primary schools took revenge against their bullies (56% of Malay to 47% Indian to 26% Chinese secondary school victims).

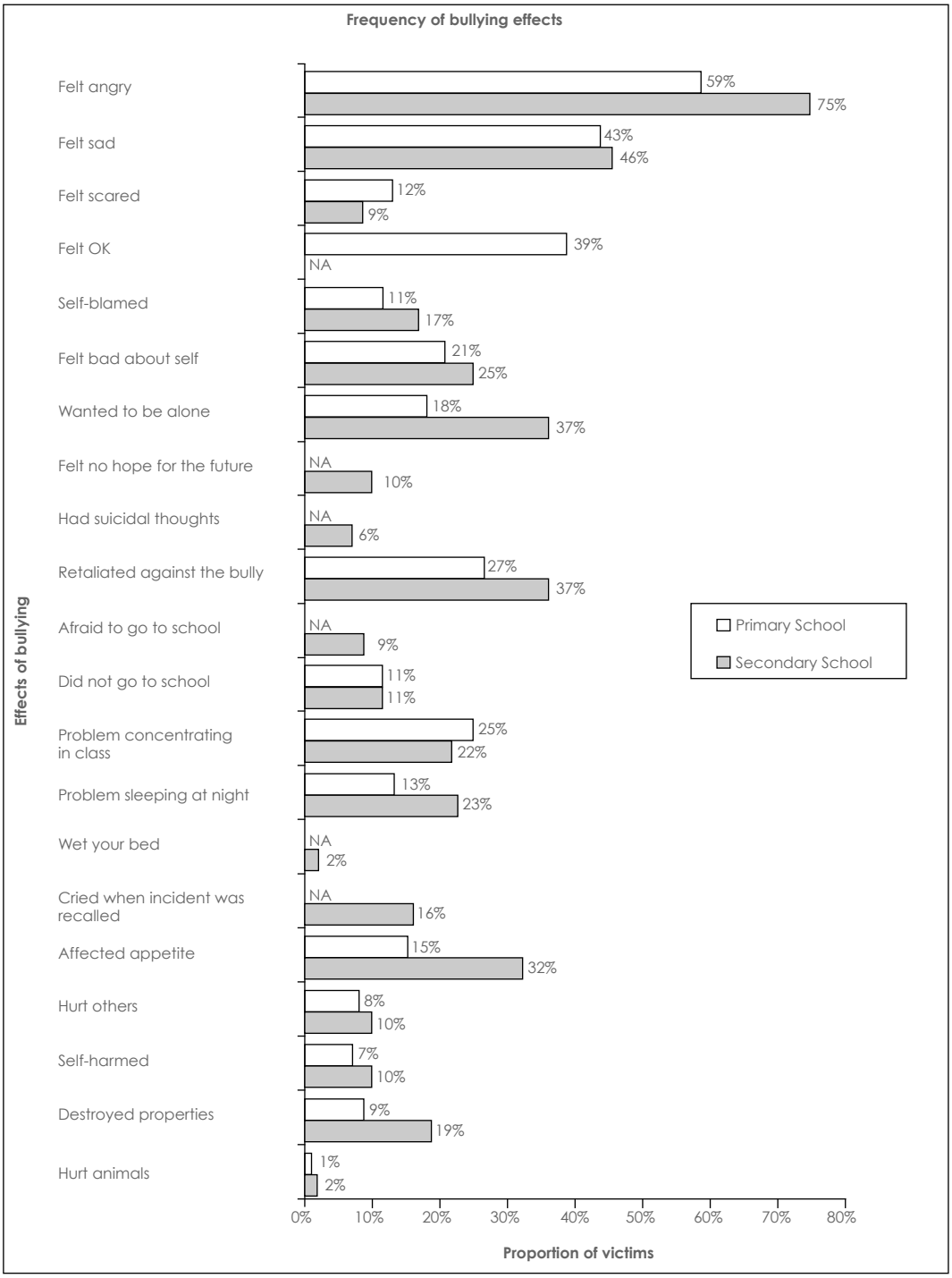

Figure 2: Frequency of bullying effects experienced by secondary and primary school victims

4.4 Discussion of results for consequences of bullying

In this section of the study, the effects of bullying were examined in relation to the various common emotional, psychological, and behavioural reactions to bullying experienced by victims in both secondary and primary schools. Differences in gender, educational level, as well as ethnicity were also compared within and between the two types of schools.

All in all, the pattern of reactions to bullying was largely similar among victims in primary and secondary schools regardless of their gender, educational level, and ethnicity. But more importantly, the present study shows that bullying does carry negative consequences for the victims. In the present study, emotional and psychological reactions to bullying were found to be generally more common than behavioural effects with majority of the victims responding to bullying with anger and sadness. This finding is particularly worrying as it suggests some of the most common reactions to bullying are not seen and can easily be overlooked as a result. As such, adults need to pay closer attention to their children as such sudden and unexplained changes in their mood and behaviours could be signs of them being bullied in school. Furthermore, although the present study also found a group of primary school victims who reported feeling 'OK' despite being bullied, further inspection revealed most of them also reported negative effects of bullying, suggesting that these children could have concealed their feelings. This would mean that it is even more difficult for adults to detect if their child has been bullied in school if they have not been informed by the victims, as well as a caution for adults not to take replies of 'OK' at face value.

School performance was also affected for some victims in primary and secondary schools who had difficulty paying attention in class (22% secondary school victims and 25% primary school victims), and a few of them missed days in school altogether as a result of being bullied (11% of both secondary and primary school victims). And if such school absences persist, their grades may eventually be affected (McNamara & McNamara, 1997). This finding is particularly important for parents who place much emphasis on school grades, and may be unaware that there could be extraneous factors affecting their children's grades. Furthermore, as the present study has shown, bullying can also lead to truancy for some victims, which would be another caution for adults not to see truancy simply as a form of delinquency. Instead, adults should take into account the possibility of a child or adolescent being involved in bullying if the child or adolescent is unwilling to attend school (Kumpulainen et al.,1998).

In our present study, retaliation against the bullies was rather prevalent among both primary and secondary school victims. Over one-third of the secondary school victims and more than a quarter of primary school victims admitted to taking "revenge" or "doing something back" to their bullies. This seems to support studies that have demonstrated how victims of bullying would respond to their bullies with aggression in an attempt to escape or foil the victimisation (Boulton, 1993). However, as details of such acts were not known to us, it would be premature to assume such retaliatory behaviours were aggressive in nature. Nonetheless, such retaliatory behaviours are still a cause for concern because the retaliation can have the reverse effect of provoking the aggressors and place these victims at greater risk for further attack by their bullies (Wolke et al., 2001).

A small but important finding also emerged in the present study, namely, the existence of a few victims in both primary and secondary schools who reported harming themselves as a consequence of being bullied (7% of primary and 10% of secondary school victims). Some secondary school victims also had thoughts of suicide after being bullied (6%) though this prevalence is not known for the primary school victims. Nonetheless, this clearly indicates how serious the consequences of bullying can get for the victims. Although the actual rate of children and adolescents in Singapore who committed suicide as a result of being bullied is not known, and there is no evidence that such self-harming behaviours or thoughts of suicide found in the present study will translate into actual suicide attempts, help ought to be given to this group of students before the consequences escalate to such levels.

Last but not least, where the comparison of the effects of bullying is concerned, there is generally little difference between the primary and secondary schools. The bigger influence, it seems, concerns the gender of the victims. In other words, gender seems to play a larger role in influencing the way students felt about being bullied than the type of school they belonged to. Our present study found that females, regardless of the type of school they belonged to, tended to experience more emotional and psychological bullying effects. For instance, female victims, regardless of the type of school they belonged to, felt bad about themselves more often than males in the same type of school. Furthermore, more girls than boys in secondary though not primary schools also felt sad, wanted to be alone, cried every time they thought of the bullying incident, had difficulty sleeping, and hurt themselves. Boys on the other hand, tended to report more behavioural effects. For instance, there were more boys than girls in primary though not secondary schools who retaliated against their bullies and destroyed property. A large part of this finding can be explained by the gender role played by males and females where females are traditionally seen as and more approved of being emotional while males are thought and expected to be tougher and more aggressive (Lagerspetz & Bjorkqvist, 1996). As such, it is not unexpected for more females to experience or at least admit to experiencing more emotional and psychological effects, and for males to experience or admit to experiencing more physical effects. However, the different ways boys and girls are bullied could have also influenced the way bullying affected them (Newman, Holden, & Delville, 2005). As boys tended to be physically bullied more and girls tended to experience more relational bullying (see Chapter 3 for explanation), this could perhaps affect how they felt about being bullied.

CHAPTER 5
Sources Of Support For Bullying

5.1 Sources of support for victims of bullying

Several studies examining the sources of support for victims of bullying have found that many children and adolescents do not confide in anyone about being bullied. For instance, Silvernail (2005) found only half of third graders informed an adult when they were bullied. Similarly, a survey on children from junior kindergarten to Grade 8 in seventeen Canadian schools found almost one-third of victimised children did not seek help from an adult (Mishna & Alaggia, 2005), while another survey in the United Kingdom examining over 800 primary and secondary school students from 9 – 14 years old found almost a quarter of the victims did not inform someone (Hunter, Boyle, & Warden, 2004). Studies investigating the reasons why children do not tell others they were bullied found it was partly due to the embarrassment and humiliation they feel about being bullied, especially when the victims feel they were at fault (Marano, 1995; Olweus, 1993). Fear of retribution from the bullies, having or desiring a friendship with the bully, as well as the lack of the necessary skills for reporting also keep victims from informing someone about their victimisation (Hazzler, Miller, Carney, & Green, 2001; Marano, 1995; Mishna, 2004; Olweus, 1993). The most important factor, it seems, that deters them from seeking help is the belief that adult intervention will not be effective (Hazzler et al., 2001; Juvonen, 2001; Olweus, 1993). For instance, Daleo (2001) found more than half the victims surveyed believed their school would not respond well if any bullying incident was reported to them. Other factors such as gender and age also seem to play a role in deciding whether a victim chooses to inform someone or not. It appears females as well as younger victims are more likely to inform someone about their victimisation (Glover, Gough, Johnson, & Cartwright, 2000; Hunter & Boyle, 2004; Rigby & Barnes, 2002; Sharp, 1995). For instance, the study by Hunter et al (2004) on primary and secondary school students found more girls than boys seeking help, while Cowie (2000) found male victims were less likely to inform someone that they were bullied.

Among students who did inform someone about their victimisation, parents, peers and school authorities were the clear favourites among these victims of bullying. However, which source of support a victim chooses to approach seems to depend on his or her age. Younger children generally prefer to inform their parents, while older children tend to talk to their peers more. For instance, in the Canadian survey on children from junior kindergarten to Grade 8 by Mishna and Alaggia (2005), the researchers found more children telling their parents (63%) than teachers (47%), while Sharp and Thompson (1992) found in their study on secondary school students that more victims approached their peers than adults. It appears school authorities such as teachers are usually the second favourite for victimised children and adolescents. Furthermore, studies have found the likelihood of victims informing their teachers to decrease with the age of the children. For instance, studies have found about half of elementary school-age children had reported victimisation to their teachers (O'Moore, Kirkham, & Smith, 1997). But the proportion dropped to about one-third in middle schools (Mellor, 1990; Smith & Shu, 2000), and fell even further to 15% among adolescents (O'Moore et al., 1997). The reason why adolescents did not report

their victimisation to school authorities was due mainly to their belief that doing so will not only not improve their situation but might actually make things worse for them (Colvin, Tobin, Beard, Hagan, & Sprague, 1998). Moreover, 8 in 10 teachers surveyed felt they were not able to handle bullying situations, and the older youth may be more aware of this inadequacy on the part of school authorities and consequently not approached them (Byrne, 1994).

Where studies on the sources of support for victimised children and adolescents are concerned, there is little research on the effectiveness of these sources although a study by Rigby (1997) found the effectiveness of informing someone to decline as the students got older. In the study, he found approximately two-thirds of younger children had felt their situation improved after they told someone they were bullied but by the time a student reached the most senior of high school, the improvement rate fell to 25%. However, the proportion of students who felt their situation got worse remained constant at around 10%.

5.2 The present study

In the present study, we wanted to see if the victims of bullying informed anyone they were bullied. And if they did, we wanted to know who they approached, and how effective they found those sources of support to be.

In the first survey on secondary school students, respondents were asked, from a list of possible support sources, if they approached any of them. Respondents were allowed to select more than one source of support, and for each source of support they informed, they were also asked to rate how effective the source was on a three-point scale, "1" being made things worse, "2" being no change, and "3" being made things better.

To reduce the interview length for the primary school students, the respondents were asked if they had told anyone about being bullied. Those who did were asked to list up to two persons they informed, and rate the effectiveness of each source on a similar three-point scale, "1" being worse, "2" being same, and "3" being better.

5.3 Findings

For comparison reasons, data collected from both secondary and primary school respondents were considered separately and not together. Frequencies of the responses were calculated, and appropriate chi-square tests were conducted to examine differences between the various sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims of bullying within and between secondary and primary schools. Group differences were also examined in terms of the gender, educational level, and ethnicity of the victimised students.

Table 2 shows the frequency of secondary and primary school victims who approached their parents, peers and schools, and their respective effectiveness. Key findings for the various sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims of bullying in secondary and primary schools are as follows:

Secondary school victims

- 17% of secondary school victims said they did not inform anyone they were bullied (N=21). By not telling anyone, two-thirds of this group of victims had said they felt the situation remained the "same" for them (67%).
- Among the list of common sources of support, secondary school victims informed their peers about their bullying experiences most often (81%). This was followed by teachers (46%) then parents (40%). The three least popular sources of support were counsellors or social workers (10%), helplines (6%), and the police (6%).
- The support source that was effective most often was the police (100%), followed by counsellors and social workers (92%) then teachers (66%). The sources of support that were effective least often were helplines (38%) and peers (55%).
- Female victims (53%) tended to approach their parents more than males (30%). Other than that, there was no gender difference found for the other sources of support. Male and female victims rated the effectiveness of the various sources of support similarly.
- Victims of bullying in Secondary 1 (61%) approached their teachers more often than victims in Secondary 3 (27%). Victims across all educational levels rated the effectiveness of the various sources of support similarly.
- Chinese victims (33%) of bullying informed their teachers less often than the Malay (59%) and Indian students (73%). No group difference was found in the way victims from different ethnic groups rated the effectiveness of the various support sources.

Primary school victims

- Approximately one-third of primary school victims did not tell anyone they were bullied (35%).
- Among victims who did inform someone, parents, particularly mothers, were most popular (60%). This was followed by schools (31%), then peers (8%).
- Out of these three sources of support, schools were found effective most often by these children (85%). This was followed by parents (57%) then peers (44%).
- Both boys and girls were equally likely to approach their parents and their schools, and found them effective equally often.
- There was no difference between students from Primary 1 through 6 as to who they told, and how effective they found those approached.
- There was no difference between who students of various ethnicities informed about their bullying experiences, or how effective they found those approached.

Table 2: Frequency and effectiveness of support sources approached by secondary and primary school victims

Support sources	Secondary school (N=126)				Primary school (N=165)			
	Total	Effectiveness			Total	Effectiveness		
		Better	Same	Worse		Better	Same	Worse
Parents	50	30 (60%)	17 (34%)	3 (6%)	65	37 (57%)	24 (37%)	4 (6%)
Peers	81	44 (55%)	31 (39%)	5 (6%)	9	4 (44%)	5 (56%)	0 (0%)
Teachers	58	38 (66%)	17 (29%)	3 (5%)	33	28 (85%)	4 (12%)	1 (3%)

5.4 Discussion of results for sources of support for victims

This chapter examined the sources of support approached by victims of bullying in secondary, in primary, and between the two types of schools, as well as the effectiveness of those sources. Differences in the gender, educational level, and ethnicity of these victims of bullying were also examined.

There was a major difference between who victims in primary and secondary schools turned to for help. The younger victims in primary schools preferred telling their parents, particularly their mothers, while the older youth in secondary schools were more inclined to confide in their peers. School authorities were the second favourite for both groups of students. This finding is also consistent with what has been found in other studies (Mishna & Alaggia, 2005; Sharp & Thompson, 1992). From a developmental point of view, this finding is hardly surprising. Younger children are generally closer to their families but this dependence gradually gets replaced with peer intimacy during adolescence (Berger, 2001). But more importantly, knowing who which group of victims turns to can help formulate interventions for these victims of bullying that are more effective. For instance, realising that not all pupils wish to speak to adults about such issues have led to the development of peer support systems where pupils are trained to tutor, counsel or advise other students (Hunter et al., 2004). However, other researchers have cautioned that a dependence on peer counsellors may increase the unwillingness of students to consult with adults even when suggested (Ross, 1996). Furthermore, there is a possibility that peer counsellors may take on responsibilities far beyond what they can handle and put everyone in greater harm.

It was interesting though, to find that the most popular choice of confidant was not the most effective for victims in both primary and secondary schools. The most popular choice of support for victims in secondary schools – peers – was rated as one of the least effective support by the very same victims. Similarly for the primary school victims, their most preferred choice of support – parents – was also not the most effective for them either. In fact, out of the three most common groups of support sources – parents, peers, and schools – schools seemed to be effective most often for victims in both primary and

secondary schools even though they were their second preferred choice of confidant. However, as we do not know what guided individual victim's choice of confidant, this finding does not necessarily imply we should encourage them to go to other sources more, though it may seem so. Most of these support sources were able to make things better for the victims, and only seldom did they make things worse for them.

Last but not least, in both surveys there was a group of victims of bullying who did not tell anyone they were bullied. Close to one-sixth of victims in secondary schools and over one-third of victims in primary schools did not inform anyone about their bullying experiences and most of them did not feel better by keeping silent. This proportion of students who did not confide in anyone is similar to those found in other studies (Hunter et al., 2004; Mishna & Alaggia, 2005). This is an important finding as disclosure is often necessary for children and adolescents to receive the support and intervention they need, it is therefore important for adults to find a way to reach out to this group of silent victims (Smith & Shu, 2000). That being said, we need to bear in mind that keeping silent does work for some students, even though it may not conventionally be the best method. Nonetheless, there are studies that have indicated that victimised children who did not confide in anyone had recommended for children who are bullied to inform an adult (Mishna, 2004).

CHAPTER 6
Conclusions

6.1 Summary of key findings

The bullying surveys were initiated by the Singapore Children's Society to get a better understanding of this problem in Singapore schools. The surveys set out to establish how widespread bullying was among students in primary and secondary schools, and looked at who the victims and their bullies were. The study also tried to find out how students were being bullied in school and how the victimisation had affected them. Lastly, the study also examined the help-seeking behaviours of these victims of bullying in terms of who they informed about their victimisation and how effective they found those sources of support to be.

The present study found bullying to be about equally prevalent among students in primary and secondary schools. Considerable similarities were also found in the way primary and secondary school students were victimised. Both groups of students were bullied in the same way in terms of gender, ethnicity, and educational level. For instance, most of the students in both primary and secondary schools were bullied by someone of the same gender, possibly because of both genders tended to interact more with peers of the same gender (Bukowski et al., 1994). They also tended to be bullied by someone from the same ethnic group which is reassuring in a way as it implies race is not a reason students get picked on, although racial teasing can become a tool for bullies when they aggress against someone of a different ethnic group. Thirdly, most victims of bullying in both primary and secondary schools were bullied by their classmates, perhaps because they spent the most amount of time together thus giving more opportunities for conflicts to arise.

Even in instances where differences in say, gender were found in one group of the students, the same difference would also appear in the other group of students. For instance, males and females were found to be bullied differently among secondary school students where females experienced more relational bullying while males were more likely to by physically bullied. Similarly, females in primary schools were also found to be more relationally bullied although physical aggression seemed equally prevalent among both boys and girls in this group, but that was probably due to their lack of awareness of differences in gender roles because of their young age.

In terms of the way bullying impacted the lives of the victims, the present study also found victims of bullying in both primary and secondary schools reacted to their victimisation in largely similar manner. Similarly large proportions of victims in both types of schools reported feeling angry and sad about being bullied as well as retaliated against the bullies. This considerably large group of victims who retaliated against their bullies possibly to escape or foil the bullying is a particular cause for concern. Although there was no evidence to suggest this group of students would, if the bullying became overwhelming, engage in extreme actions with weapons, as has occurred in some countries, retaliation is still a cause for concern as it could provoke the bullies and put the victims at higher risk of further attack (Wolke et al., 2001).

Like the gender difference found in the way males and females were bullied, a similar gender difference was also found in the way males and females responded to bullying. For instance, female victims in the secondary school sample were found to react more emotionally and psychologically to bullying than males in the same type of school. Likewise, a similar gender difference also appeared among the primary school respondents. Primary school girls also experienced more emotional and psychological disturbances after they were bullied. Such a finding indicates gender has a considerable influence on how victims felt about their victimisation.

Last but not least, in terms of the students' help-seeking behaviours, a large difference was found in whom students in primary and secondary schools approached for help. The comparatively younger respondents in primary schools generally approached their parents for help more, while the older secondary school students confided more in their peers. This is arguably due to the increasingly influential roles peers play during adolescence (Berger, 2001).

6.2 Implications of findings

There are several important messages from this study for students, parents, and educators.

Public education can create greater awareness among students, parents and educators about the issue of school bullying. Such education can portray bullying as an unacceptable form of behaviour that is potentially harmful to the victims' social and emotional well-being. For instance, students, parents and educators can be made to realise persistent verbal assault can hurt someone and scar them emotionally, and in extreme cases where the distress gets too overwhelming for the victims, they may resort to ending their own lives. In addition to emphasising the seriousness of this problem and setting a culture that reproves bullying, students can also be taught to identify the various harmful behaviours that constitute as bullying as some bullies may be unaware that certain seemingly harmless behaviour can be regarded as bullying. Students can also be taught the value of friendships. Understanding the importance of friendship can hopefully create an environment that is not conducive to bullying as well as buffer against some of the impacts of bullying.

Parents should also realise that bullying is largely unseen and should be more observant of any sudden unexplained changes in their children's mood and behaviours which could be signs of bullying. For instance, children who play truant from school may not be signalling they are delinquents but that they are being bullied in school. As such, parents should be more involved and spend more time communicating with their child to find the real motivation behind their actions. At this juncture, a word of caution must be given to parents when they are communicating with their child. As our study has shown, replies of 'OK' may not necessarily mean the children feel truly fine. They could be reluctant to disclose something as embarrassing and potentially traumatising as their victimisation. Therefore, parents need to be more vigilant and not take replies of 'OK' at face value.

Finally, the finding from the present study that majority of the students were bullied by someone in their class arguably puts the responsibility of intervening the bullying on the teachers. School authorities can enforce a strong anti-bullying policy in class and be trained to identify bullying when it happens in their class. For instance, a student who seems perpetually isolated by his or her classmates could be a victim of relational bullying.

In addition to spotting a bullying incident when it occurs, teachers can also be trained how to intervene a bullying incident effectively. Besides implying the responsibility for school authorities to intervene bullying incidences in school, this finding also implies that having a school system like ours that confines students to the same group of peers for extended periods of time could have created or maintained an environment that encourages bullying (Baldry & Farrington, 1999).

6.3 Limitations of study

The main limitations of the present study concerned the self-reporting nature of the study and its cross-sectional design.

As with all self-reported studies, this study was also vulnerable to social desirability bias, even if the questionnaire was anonymous (since the interviewer was not). Students may not be inclined to report they were victims of bullying because of shame, or they may be reluctant to admit to engaging in a socially disapproved behaviour like bullying (Kanetsuna & Smith, 2002; Thompson et al., 2002). Furthermore, males are traditionally seen as the stronger sex and violence among males is generally more tolerated. They are also expected to tolerate pain and not to hurt females (Brinson, 2005). Such reasons could have led to more males admitting to bullying, and less males admitting to being bullied, especially by girls. Girls could also be less inclined to admit to bullying, especially to bullying boys, for similar reasons.

Besides social desirability, the validity of the present study could also be affected by the design of the study, as it was based on the ability of respondents to recall and estimate the frequency of their bullying experiences over the course of a year (Nishina & Juvonen, 2005). This dependence on the respondents' ability to accurately recollect and estimate their bullying frequencies means the results may have been affected by lapses of memory, especially among the younger respondents.

6.4 Suggestions for future studies

The present study has indicated that bullying in school can negatively affect the social and emotional development of children and adolescents in Singapore. Findings from the present study contribute to the research documenting the harmful effects of bullying by offering an Asian perspective to the existing wealth of information mostly obtained in Western countries. However, most of the studies on the effects of bullying have concentrated on the immediate effect. Less research has been done on the long term effects of bullying after the victims have left school. To the best of our knowledge, no local studies have yet to look at these persistent effects of bullying long after the victimisation has stopped. Overseas studies that have examined the consequences of school bullying on adults have suggested that bullying in school is related to severe adjustment problems that may persist into adulthood. For instance, adults who have been victimised in school were found to be more likely to suffer from depression and have lower self-esteem than individuals who were not bullied (Olweus, 1993). Many of them may also encounter difficulties in personal relationships, particularly relationships with the opposite gender (Hugh-Jones & Smith, 1999). Although somewhat extreme, a telling example of how persistently damaging bullying can get can be seen in the case of an Australian teenager, Benjamin Cox, who was still feeling the effects of the victimisation he received in primary school when he was

six-years-old. A decade after his victimisation, Benjamin still suffered from "post-traumatic stress disorder, has no job and no friends and spends his time in his room watching television or playing on his Xbox" (The Australian, 15 May 2007). It is therefore important for research on longer term effects to be done in Singapore to ascertain the degree of this problem here in our community.

6.5 Conclusion

The findings in this monograph have highlighted the bullying experiences of primary and secondary school students in Singapore, and throw some light on the way they responded to peer victimisation. It is to be hoped that the results can be of some use to readers for formulating more effective intervention efforts and preventive measures to tackle school bullying.

Bullying affects only a (comparatively) small proportion of students in school. The majority of students are never involved in bullying, whether as bully or victim. Even though bullying is a problem not unique to any school, gender, ethnicity or educational level, some children and adolescents seem to possess certain characteristics that make them more vulnerable to victimisation by peers. And for this group of students, bullying can have repercussions that may pervade many aspects of their lives. Bullying can also create a tense and sometimes violent environment in school that not only affect the victims but other students' sense of security and learning as well. According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, children have the right to be protected from abuse and neglect, but with that right, they also have a responsibility to not bully or harm one another. It is therefore to be hoped that the present findings can contribute to a better understanding and awareness of school bullying issues here. Lastly, this monograph is published by the Singapore Children's Society with the intention of assisting the Society in its mission to advocate change to improve the well-being of our children.

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APPENDIX A
Questionnaire For Primary School Students

	Main Sample		Booster Sample

Singapore Children's Society Bullying Survey (Primary School)

Introduction

Hello, my name is _____ and I am from _____ [SHOW ID]. We are asking children all over Singapore about things that happen in their schools and we would like to ask you some questions too. This will only take about 20 minutes, and you can stop any time you don't feel good. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. This has nothing to do with your school, and no one else will know what you said. Thank you!

Section A: Demographics

I am going to ask you some questions about yourself.

A1. How old are you this year?

	Years [Interview only children from Pri 2 to Sec1]

A2. Gender [Interviewer to observe]

	Male		Female

A3. Are you a: [Interviewer to observe]

	Malay		Others [PLEASE SPECIFY BELOW]
	Indian		
	Chinese		
	Eurasian		

A4. This year, you are in:

(i)

	Pri 2
	Pri 3
	Pri 4
	Pri 5
	Pri 6
	Sec 1

[For Pri 4 and above]

(ii)

	Non-GEP
	GEP

A5. In your school, are there:

	Only Boys / Girls		Boys and Girls

A6. Is your school a:

	Mission School		Non-Mission School

[Interviewer Note: Mission Schools refers to any religious schools (e.g. Catholic, Buddhist, Islamic schools). If respondent is not sure, please check with their parent at end of interview.]

[Proceed to Section B]

Section B: Forms of Bullying Behaviours

B1. I'm going to read out some things people do to each other and I want you to tell me how many times your schoolmates did them to you last year using this [Show and explain Scale A]. They may take place inside or outside your school.

[Interviewer Note: last year refers to the academic year in 2006]

Scale A:

Every Month

1	2	3	4
0 times	**1 time**	**2 times**	**4 times**

	Types of Behaviours	Probe	Frequency
1	Last year, did anyone: **Pinch, beat, push, pull your hair, throw things at you, or make you fall down** on purpose	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
2	Last year, did anyone: **Lock you in the toilet or classroom alone** on purpose	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
3	Last year, did anyone: **Take your things or money and don't want to give them back, or hide or spoil your things** on purpose	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
4	Last year, did anyone: **Draw on you with pens or crayons or dirty your clothes** on purpose	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
5	Last year, did anyone: **Tell other people bad things about you that are not true**, or purposely **get you into trouble with your teacher or friends** *Prompt* They tell the teacher you beat them when it's not true	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
6	Last year, did anyone: **Not want to friend you for no reason**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
7	Last year, did anyone **Tell other people not to friend you**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
8	Last year, did anyone: **Say anything to make you feel scared** *Prompt* They say they will beat you up if you don't listen to them They will ask the whole class not to be your friend if you don't listen to them	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
9	Last year, did anyone: **Say bad things about you or your family to other people that made you angry or sad** *Prompt* Call your mother bad words	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
10	Last year, did anyone: **Call you bad names or use bad words on you**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4

Every Month

1	2	3	4
0 times	**1 time**	**2 times**	**4 times**

	Types of Behaviours	Probe	Frequency
11	Last year, did anyone: **Make fun of you because you are Chinese / Malay / Indian**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
12	Last year, did anyone: **Write bad things about you in places like tables, toilets, buses, or trains** *Prompt* (respondent's name) smells funny	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
13	Did you have a handphone last year? [Yes: Proceed with item 13 and 14] [No: Proceed to item 15]		Yes ☐ No ☐
	Last year, did anyone **Call you on your handphone and called you bad names or kept quiet when you answered the call**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
14	**Send you nasty SMS on your handphone**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
15	Did you use the internet last year? [Yes: Proceed with item 15] [No: Proceed to item 16]		Yes ☐ No ☐
	Last year, did anyone **Write bad things about you on the internet or email**	Yes ☐ No ☐	1 2 3 4
16	Others, please specify:		1 2 3 4

[If respondent has experienced any of the above, proceed to Section C]
[If respondent has not experienced any of the above, proceed to Section F]

Section C: Sources of Support and Perceived Effectiveness

C1. Did you tell anyone about those things when they happened to you?

	No [Proceed to Section D]		Yes [Proceed to Question C2]

[If respondent answered No, to prompt by asking "So, you didn't tell your mother, or father, or teacher?" This is to ensure the respondent truly did not confide in anyone.]

C2. Who did you tell? And did telling them help make things better for you? [Show and explain Scale B]

Scale B:

1	2	3
☹ **Worse**	😐 **Same**	☺ **Better**

If Yes in Q.C1, record details below.

No	Source(s) of Support	Effectiveness		
1		1	2	3
2		1	2	3

[Proceed to Section D]

Section D: Consequences of Bullying

D1. I am going to read you a list of things and I want you to tell me if you did any of them <u>after</u> your schoolmates did those things to you?

	Did You. . .	Yes	No
1	**Break or spoil things** because of what that person did to you	1	2
2	**Hurt animals** because of what that person did to you	1	2
3	**Hurt other people** because of what that person did to you	1	2
4	**Hurt yourself** because of what that person did to you	1	2
5	**Not go to school** because of what that person did to you	1	2
6	**Eat more or less** than usual because of what that person did to you	1	2
7	**Do something back to the person**	1	2
8	**Have problem sleeping at night** because of what that person did to you	1	2
9	**Not want to see or talk to anyone** because of what that person did to you	1	2
10	**Have problem paying attention in class** because of what that person did to you	1	2
11	**Feel 'OK'** even though the person did those things to you	1	2
12	**Feel sad** because of what that person did to you	1	2
13	**Feel angry** because of what that person did to you	1	2
14	**Feel scared** because of what that person did to you	1	2
15	**Feel bad about yourself** because of what that person did to you	1	2
16	**Feel it was your fault** because of what that person did to you	1	2
17	Others, please specify:	1	2

[Proceed to Section E]

Section E: Demographics of Bullies

E1. Was the person who did those things to you a boy or a girl?

	Male		Female

[Interviewer Note: If the respondent was bullied by more than one person, ask the respondent to think of the person he/she was most affected by.]

E2. Was the person a _____

	Malay		Others [PLEASE SPECIFY BELOW]
	Indian		
	Chinese		
	Eurasian		

E3. Was the person in your class last year?

	Yes [Proceed to Question F1]		No [Proceed to Question E4]

E4. Last year, the person was in Pri _____ [Indicate]

	[Proceed to Section F]

Section F: Self-reported Bullies

F1. Did you yourself do any of those things on purpose to anyone last year?

	Yes [Proceed to Question F2]		No [End]

F2. Why did you do those things to the person?

[Interviewer Note: If the respondent bullied more than one person, ask the respondent to think of the person he/she bullied most often.]

F3. Are you still doing those things to anybody now?

	Yes [Proceed to Question F5]		No [End]

F4. Do you want to stop doing those things to them?

	Yes		No

[CLOSE INTERVIEW & THANK RESPONDENT]

Notes to Interviewer:

1. The introduction is meant as a guide for the interviewers, and not meant to be read out like a script.
2. Reassure respondent that information collected will be kept confidential. Present respondent with a Tinkle Friend Bookmark and token. Refer them to Tinkle Friend if they wish to seek help with regards to bullying.

APPENDIX B
Questionnaire For Secondary School Students

Singapore Children's Society Bullying Survey (Secondary School)

Introduction

Hello, my name is _____ and I am an interviewer from Singapore Children's Society [SHOW ID]. We are conducting this survey to find out about school bullying in Singapore, and would like to get your opinions. Please be assured that your responses will be kept strictly confidential. We would appreciate if you could spare about 10 minutes of your time to answer some questions.

This is not a test. There are no rights or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can. Thank you!

Section A: Demographics

I would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

A1. Age:

	Years

A2. Gender :

	Male		Female

A3. Race:

	Malay		Others [PLEASE SPECIFY BELOW]
	Indian		
	Chinese		
	Eurasian		

A4. Educational level:

	Sec 2
	Sec 3
	Sec 4
	Sec 5

[Proceed to Section B]

Section B: Forms of Bullying Behaviours

B1. Please indicate whether your schoolmates bullied you in any of the following ways in 2005, using the scale [Show and explain Scale A]. The bullying acts can occur in or out of school compound.

[Interviewer Note: Reiterate to respondents they should only rate behaviours they consider as bullying, and not acts of "play play".]

Scale A:

0	1	2	3	4	5
Never	**Less than once a month**	**2-3 times in a month**	**Once a week**	**2-3 times a week**	**More than 4 times a week**

	Types of Behaviours	Frequency
1	Hitting, pinching, biting, pushing and shoving	0 1 2 3 4 5
2	Taking your belongings and refusing to return them	0 1 2 3 4 5
3	Hiding your belongings	0 1 2 3 4 5
4	Damaging your belongings	0 1 2 3 4 5
5	Demanding your money	0 1 2 3 4 5
6	Threatening and intimidating you	0 1 2 3 4 5
7	Throwing things at you	0 1 2 3 4 5
8	Insulting you in front of people	0 1 2 3 4 5
9	Calling you names that hurt you	0 1 2 3 4 5
10	Spreading rumours about you	0 1 2 3 4 5
11	Using vulgar language on you	0 1 2 3 4 5
12	Making things up to get you into trouble	0 1 2 3 4 5
13	Preventing others from befriending you	0 1 2 3 4 5
14	Purposely leaving you out of a group or isolating you	0 1 2 3 4 5
15	Harassing you with silent or abusive phone calls	0 1 2 3 4 5
16	Sending you offensive phone texts	0 1 2 3 4 5
17	Posting insulting messages on the internet about you	0 1 2 3 4 5
18	Others, please specify:	0 1 2 3 4 5

[If respondent has experienced <u>any</u> of the above, proceed to Section C]
[If respondent has <u>not</u> experienced any of the above, proceed to Section F]

Section C: Sources of Support and Perceived Effectiveness

C1. When you were bullied, did you do any of the following? If YES, circle 1. If NO, circle 2. Please respond with regards to <u>all</u> the bullying incidences you have experienced. You may circle more than one.

For the steps that you have tried, tell us how helpful was what you did, using the scale [Show Scale B].

Scale B:

1	2	3
☹ Made things worse	😐 No Change	☺ Made things better

	Source(s) of Support	Approached		Effectiveness		
		Yes	No	☹	😐	☺
1	Informed my teacher	1	2	1	2	3
2	Informed my parent	1	2	1	2	3
3	Informed my family members other than parents (siblings, cousin, uncle, etc.)	1	2	1	2	3
4	Informed my schoolmates	1	2	1	2	3
5	Informed my peers outside the school	1	2	1	2	3
6	Informed the police	1	2	1	2	3
7	Informed a counsellor or social worker	1	2	1	2	3
8	Asked the bully to stop	1	2	1	2	3
9	Called a helpline	1	2	1	2	3
10	Did not tell anyone	1	2	1	2	3
11	Others, please specify:	1	2	1	2	3

[Proceed to Section D]

Section D: Consequences of Bullying

D1. Have you experienced or done any of the following <u>after</u> you were bullied?

	Bullying Effects	Yes	No
1	I harmed animals	1	2
2	I destroyed properties	1	2
3	I hurt other people	1	2
4	I took revenge on the bullies	1	2
5	I harmed myself	1	2
6	I bullied others	1	2
7	I did not go to school	1	2
8	I wanted to be alone	1	2
9	I ate more / less	1	2
10	I could not sleep	1	2
11	I felt sad	1	2
12	I felt that I had no hope for the future	1	2
13	I felt angry	1	2
14	I cried every time I think of the bullying incident	1	2
15	I became scared	1	2
16	I blamed myself for what have happened	1	2
17	I did not feel good about myself	1	2
18	I could not concentrate in my studies	1	2
19	I wet my bed	1	2
20	I had nightmares	1	2
21	I thought of killing myself	1	2
22	I did not want to make new friends	1	2
23	I was afraid to go to school	1	2
24	Others, please specify:	1	2

D2. <u>Before</u> you were bullied, did you bully anyone?

	Yes		No

D3. What educational level were you in at the time when you were being bullied?

Sec [Indicate]

[Proceed to Section E]

Section E: Demographics of Bullies

[Interviewer Note: If respondent had been bullied by more than 1 person, please ask respondent to answer the following with regards to the person who was most significant.]

E1. What was the gender of the bully?

	Male		Female

E2. What was the race of the bully?

	Malay		Others [PLEASE SPECIFY BELOW]
	Indian		
	Chinese		
	Eurasian		

E3. What was the educational level of the bully when he/she first started bullying you?

	Sec 1
	Sec 2
	Sec 3
	Sec 4
	Sec 5

E4. Was the bully from your class?

	Yes		No

[Proceed to Section F]

Section F: Self-Reported Bullies

F1. In 2005, have you bullied anyone?

	Yes		No

[Proceed to Section G]

Section G: Help on Bullying

G1. Would you like to get any help regarding the issue of school bullying?

	Yes		No

[CLOSE INTERVIEW & THANK RESPONDENT]

APPENDIX C
Demographic Statistics Of Respondents

The gender, ethnicity, and present educational level of students in the primary and secondary school samples at the time of the interview, shown in Table 3, were compared to those of the Singapore's population (Ministry of Education, 2006b; Singapore Department of Statistics, 2006).

Gender

The distribution of boys and girls in the primary and secondary school samples reflected that of the Singapore population [χ^2 (*1, N* = 786) = 0.18, *p* = ns; χ^2 (*1, N*= 513) = 0.69, *p* = ns respectively].

Educational level

The educational level of respondents from Primary 2 through Secondary 5 was also similar to the national distribution [χ^2 (*5, N* = 786) = 2.91, *p* = ns; χ^2 (*3, N* = 513) = 7.75, p = ns for primary and secondary school samples respectively].

Ethnicity

The primary school survey contained a main sample of 600 respondents that was representative of the national ethnic distribution; however, Malay respondents were somewhat over-represented in the secondary school sample while the Chinese were under-sampled [χ^2 (*3, N* = 600) = 2.16, *p* = ns; χ^2 (*3, N* = 513) = 16.00, $p < .05$ respectively].

A booster sample comprising an additional 186 Malays (N=87) and Indians (N=99) was added to our primary school sample to double and triple their respective representation so as to allow for analyses of ethnic differences.

Due to the small number of respondents representing the group of 'Others' in both samples, responses from them were excluded from statistical analyses examining ethnic differences.

Table 3: Demographic statistics of respondents

Demographics		Primary School (N=786)	Secondary School (N=513)
Age	Range (years) Mean (years) Standard Deviation (years)	6 – 16 10.3 1.7	13 – 20 15.2 1.0
Gender	Male	395 (50.2%)	256 (49.9%)
	Female	391 (49.8%)	257 (50.1%)
Ethnicity	Chinese	441 (56.1%)	359 (70.0%)
	Malays	169 (21.5%)	100 (19.5%)
	Indians	161 (20.5%)	46 (9.0%)
	Others (e.g., Eurasian etc.)	15 (1.9%)	8 (1.5%)
Present Educational Level	Primary 2	128 (16.3%)	-
	Primary 3	135 (17.2%)	-
	Primary 4	134 (17.0%)	-
	Primary 5	134 (17.0%)	-
	Primary 6	131 (16.7%)	-
	Secondary 1	124 (15.8%)	-
	Secondary 2	-	163 (31.8%)
	Secondary 3	-	177 (34.5%)
	Secondary 4	-	139 (27.1%)
	Secondary 5	-	34 (6.6%)

APPENDIX D
Key Statistics

Prevalence And Trends Of Bullying

Extent of bullying (pp. 12)

A respondent would be counted as being bullied if he or she had experienced any of the bullying behaviours surveyed in the last school year at least two times within a month. 21.0% of primary school respondents and 24.6% of the secondary school students sampled were bullied. A chi-square test for independence found similar proportions of students were victimised in primary and secondary schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 1299) = 2.07, *p* = ns]. This means that neither primary nor secondary school students were more or less bullied than the other.

Victims and their bullies (pp. 12)

Gender of victims

Individual comparisons between gender and whether a respondent was bullied found significantly more male than female victims in the primary sample [χ^2 (*1, N* = 786) = 4.12, *p* = < .05], and similar proportions of boys and girls to be victimised in secondary schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 513) = 2.45, *p* = ns]. But further chi-square test for independence between the gender of victims and school type did not reveal any significant difference between the two groups [χ^2 (*1, N* = 291) = .01, *p* = ns]. There was a similar proportion of male and female victims in primary and secondary schools. The gender distribution of victims in primary and secondary schools is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Gender distribution of victims of bullying

Gender of victims	Types of schools		Total
	Primary	Secondary	
Male	95 (57.6%)	71 (56.3%)	166
Female	70 (42.4%)	55 (43.7%)	125
Total	165 (100%)	126 (100%)	291

Gender of bullies identified by victims

Separate chi-square goodness-of-fit tests found significantly more male than female bullies in primary and in secondary schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 62.70, *p* < .05; χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 30.17, *p* < .05 respectively]. There were four times more male than female bullies in primary schools, and three times more male than female bullies in secondary schools.

A chi-square test for independence did not find any significant difference between the gender of bullies and the two types of schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 291) = .59, *p* = ns]. The proportion of male to female bullies in primary and secondary schools, as shown in Table 5, was similar.

Table 5: Gender distribution of bullies

Gender of victims	Types of schools		Total
	Primary	Secondary	
Male	133 (80.6%)	96 (76.2%)	229
Female	32 (19.4%)	30 (23.8%)	62
Total	165 (100%)	126 (100%)	291

Gender of victims and their bullies

Separate chi-square tests for independence conducted to examine the relationship between the gender of victims and that of their bullies found significant gender differences for both primary and secondary schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 28.60, *p* < .05; χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 36.91, *p* < .05 respectively]. Visual inspection of the data revealed victims were bullied mainly by someone of the same gender. The gender distribution of victims and their bullies in both types of schools are shown in Table 6. As can be seen from the table, there were also more boys bullying girls than girls bullying other girls in primary schools though not as much boys bullying other boys.

Table 6: Gender distribution of victims and their bullies

			Gender of bullies		Total
			Male	Female	
Gender of victims	Primary school	**Total**	**133**	**32**	**165**
		Male	90 (94.7%)	5 (5.3%)	95 (100%)
		Female	43 (61.4%)	27 (38.6%)	70 (100%)
	Seconday school	**Total**	**96**	**30**	**126**
		Male	69 (97.2%)	2 (2.8%)	71 (100%)
		Female	27 (49.1%)	28 (50.9%)	55 (100%)

Educational level of victims

There was no difference between educational levels and being a victim of bullying in primary, and in secondary schools [χ^2 (*5, N* = 786) = 10.58, *p* = ns; χ^2 (*3, N* = 513) = 4.50, *p* = ns respectively]. Similar amounts of bullying were reported by students from the same type of school. Table 7 shows the proportion of students who were victimised by peers from Primary 1 through Secondary 4 (Normal Academic).

Table 7: Frequency distribution of bullying experiences of primary and secondary school respondents

Types of schools		Bullying experiences		Total
		Victims	Non-Victims	
Primary	**Total**	**165 (100%)**	**621 (100%)**	**786**
	Primary 1	24 (14.6%)	104 (16.7%)	128
	Primary 2	30 (18.2%)	105 (16.9%)	135
	Primary 3	36 (21.8%)	98 (15.8%)	134
	Primary 4	21 (12.7%)	113 (18.2%)	134
	Primary 5	35 (21.2%)	96 (15.5%)	131
	Primary 6	19 (11.5%)	105 (16.9%)	124
Secondary	**Total**	**126 (100%)**	**387 (100%)**	**513**
	Secondary 1	49 (38.9%)	114 (29.5%)	163
	Secondary 2	38 (30.1%)	139 (35.9%)	177
	Secondary 3	33 (26.2%)	106 (27.4%)	139
	Secondary 4(N)	6 (4.8%)	28 (7.2%)	34
Total		291	1008	1299

Educational level of bullies identified by victims

Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests found proportionately similar number of bullies in each education level, from Primary 1 through 6, reported by primary school victims [χ^2 (*5, N* = 165) = 6.78, *p* = ns]. Among the secondary school students, there was proportionately more bullies reported in Secondary 1 and lesser bullies in Secondary 4 than what could be expected by chance [χ^2 (*4, N* = 124) = 18.47, $p < .05$]. The educational level of the bullies from Primary 1 through Secondary 5 is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Educational level of bullies

Types of schools		Bullies Frequency
Primary	**Total**	**165 (100%)**
	Primary 1	23 (13.9%)
	Primary 2	30 (18.2%)
	Primary 3	34 (20.6%)
	Primary 4	21 (12.7%)
	Primary 5	35 (21.2%)
	Primary 6	22 (13.4%)
Secondary	**Total**	**124* (100%)**
	Secondary 1	46 (37.1%)
	Secondary 2	34 (27.4%)
	Secondary 3	27 (21.8%)
	Secondary 4	15 (12.1%)
	Secondary 5	2 (1.6%)

* Two respondents did not answer this question.

Educational level of victims and their bullies

As shown in Table 9, majority of the victims in primary and secondary schools were bullied by their own classmates. 78.2% of the victims in primary schools, and 68.5% of the secondary school victims were bullied by their own classmates. A chi-square test for independence did not find any significant relationship between the proportion of victims in both types of schools who were bullied by their own classmates [χ^2 (*1, N* = 291) = 3.69, *p* = ns]. This means there was a similar proportion of victims in primary and secondary schools who were bullied by their own classmates.

Table 9: Proportion of victims bullied by classmates

Types of schools	Bullies		Total
	Classmates	Non-classmates	
Primary	129 (78.2%)	36 (21.8%)	165 (100%)
Secondary	85 (68.5%)	39 (31.5%)	124 (100%)
Total	214	75	289

Ethnicity of victims

A significant difference was found between ethnicity and whether a secondary school student was bullied or not [χ^2 (2, N = 505) = 17.83, p < .05]. Malay students were proportionately more bullied compared to the Chinese and Indians. No ethnic differences was found among the primary school students [χ^2 (2, N = 771) = 4.43, p = ns]. All ethnic groups in primary schools experienced proportionately similar amounts of bullying.

A significant relationship was found between ethnicity and victims in primary and secondary schools using a chi-square test for independence [χ^2 (2, N = 286) = 9.87, p < .05]. Visual inspection of the data revealed proportionately more Indians were being bullied in primary schools. The ethnic distribution of primary and secondary school victims of bullying can be seen in Table 10.

Table 10: Ethnicity of victims of bullying

Ethnicity of victims	Types of schools		Total
	Primary	Secondary	
Chinese	83 (50.3%)	70 (55.6%)	153
Malays	36 (21.8%)	39 (30.9%)	75
Indians	43 (26.1%)	15 (11.9%)	58
Others	3 (1.8%)	2 (1.6%)	5
Total	165 (100%)	126 (100%)	291

Ethnicity of bullies identified by victims

Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests found similar proportions of bullies from each of the three main ethnic groups in primary schools [χ^2 (2, N = 163) = 2.26, p = ns], and proportionately more Malay and lesser Chinese bullies in secondary schools [χ^2 (2, N = 120) = 28.81, $p < .05$].

No ethnic difference was found between bullies in primary and secondary schools using a chi-square test for independence [χ^2 (2, N = 283) = 5.91, p = ns]. This means the ethnic distribution of bullies, as shown in Table 11, was proportionately similar for both types of schools.

Table 11: Ethnicity of bullies

Ethnicity of bullies	Types of schools		Total
	Primary	Secondary	
Chinese	119 (72.1%)	74 (58.7%)	193
Malays	30 (18.2%)	37 (29.4%)	67
Indians	14 (8.5%)	9 (7.1%)	23
Others	2 (1.2%)	6 (4.8%)	8
Total	65 (100%)	126 (100%)	291

Ethnicity of victims and their bullies

Chi-square tests for independence found significant ethnic differences between the victims and that of their bullies for both primary and secondary schools [χ^2 (*4, N* = 161) = 58.95, $p < .05$; χ^2 (*4, N* = 118) = 48.61, $p < .05$ respectively]. Table 12 shows the ethnic distribution of victims and their bullies. From the table, it is clear that other than the Indians, all ethnic groups bullied, and were bullied more by someone of the same ethnicity in primary and secondary schools.

Although Indians also bullied their own ethnic group more, they were proportionately more bullied by the Chinese. However, this was simply the result of a skewed ethnic distribution in the Singapore population. Considering the 4:1 ratio of Chinese to the Indians, this would mean that by chance, there would be four Chinese bullies to every Indian bully given the ethnic distribution of the bullies resembles that of the population, as in the present case. It is therefore not surprising to find more Chinese bullying the Indians than Indians bullying other Indians. Furthermore, the proportion of Chinese bullying other Chinese was far greater than the number of Chinese bullying the Indians.

Table 12: Ethnicity of victims and their bullies

			Ethnicity of bullies				
			Chinese	**Malays**	**Indians**	**Others**	**Total**
Ethnicity of victims	Primary school	**Total**	**119**	**30**	**14**	**2**	**165**
		Chinese	74 (89.2%)	5 (6.0%)	4 (4.8%)	0 (0%)	83 (100%)
		Malays	14 (38.9%)	21 (58.3%)	1 (2.8%)	0 (0%)	36 (100%)
		Indians	29 (67.5%)	4 (9.3%)	9 (20.9%)	1 (2.3%)	43 (100%)
		Others	2 (66.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100%)
	Secondary school	**Total**	**74**	**37**	**9**	**6**	**126**
		Chinese	56 (80.0%)	10 (14.3%)	1 (1.4%)	3 (4.3%)	70 (100%)
		Malays	12 (30.8%)	23 (59.0%)	3 (7.7%)	1 (2.5%)	39 (100%)
		Indians	6 (40.0%)	2 (13.3%)	5 (33.4%)	2 (13.3%)	15 (100%)
		Others	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)

Self-reported bullies (pp. 13)

39 of all primary school respondents (5.0%) and 53 of the secondary school respondents (10.3%) admitted to engaging in some forms of bullying behaviours in their last school year. Of the 39 self-reported bullies in primary schools, 26 of them were also victims (i.e., 66.7% of the self-reported bullies were themselves bullied). Similarly, 28 of the 53 self-reported bullies in secondary schools were themselves bullied (52.8%). A chi-square test for independence did not find any difference between the proportion of bully-victims in the two types of schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 92) = 1.25, *p* = ns]. There was a similar proportion of bully-victims among both groups of students. The proportion of self-reported bullies among primary and secondary school students can be found in Table 13.

Table 13: Proportion of self-reported bullies in primary and secondary schools

	Types of schools		
Self-reported bullies	**Primary**	**Secondary**	**Total**
Bullies only	13 (33.3%)	25 (47.2%)	38
Bully-victims	26 (66.7%)	28 (52.8%)	54
Total	39 (100%)	53 (100%)	92

Overall, the proportion of bully-victims made up a small part of the total number of victims in both primary and secondary schools, but they constituted a large proportion of the bullies. For instance, as illustrated in Figure 3, the 26 bully-victims in primary schools made up only 15.8% of the total number of victims (N=165) but formed 66.7% of the total number of self-reported bullies (N=39). Similarly, the 28 bully-victims identified in secondary schools constituted only 22.2% of the 126 victims of bullying but made up more than half the total number of self-reported bullies. 18 bully-victims from secondary schools also admitted to bullying others before they themselves were bullied.

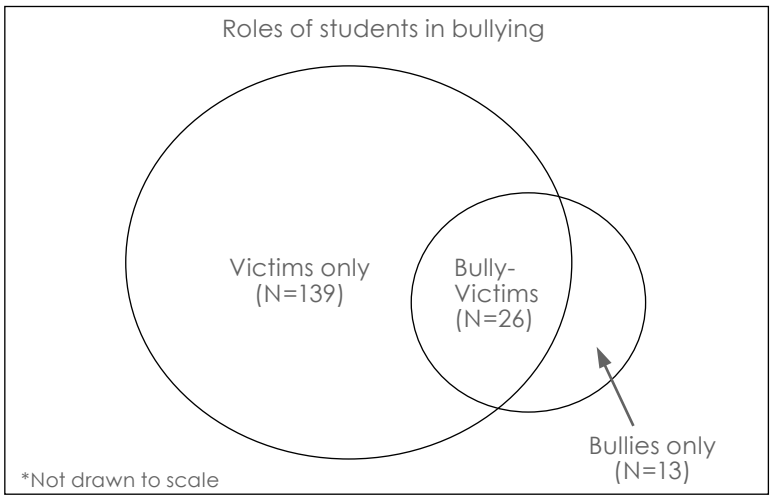

Figure 3: Roles played by primary school students involved in bullying in schools

Reasons for bullying

The reasons given by bully-victims for bullying others centred around "revenge", retaliation like "beat the person back", and provocation such as "they made me angry". Two of them gave "self-defence" as the reason for bullying others and a few of them had "felt bored" (N=1) or were "going along with friends" (N=1).

Most of the self-reported bullies who were not bullied themselves gave "revenge" (N=7) as the reason for bullying others. A group of them also said they were just "playing" (N=4).

The reasons for bullying others offered by bully-victims are tabled in Table 14.

Table 14: Reasons for bullying given by primary school self-reported bullies

Types of bullies	Reasons for bullying	Frequency
Bully-victims (N=26)	"Revenge"	15
	"Made me angry"	6
	"Self-defence"	2
	"Felt bored"	1
	"Went along with friends"	1
	Not stated	1
Bullies only (N=13)	"Revenge"	7
	"Playing"	4
	"Made me angry"	1
	"Don't like that person"	1

Gender of self-reported bullies

As can be seen in Table 15, there were proportionately more male than female self-reported bullies in both primary and secondary schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 786) = 5.14, $p < .05$, and χ^2 (*1, N* = 513) = 8.50, $p < .05$ for primary and secondary school respondents respectively].

Table 15: Gender distribution of self-reported bullies

	Gender		
Types of schools	Male	Female	Total
Primary	27 (69.2%)	12 (30.8%)	39 (100%)
Secondary	37 (69.8%)	16 (30.2%)	53 (100%)

Educational level of self-reported bullies

The number of self-reported bullies was proportionately distributed across all educational levels in primary and secondary schools [χ^2 (*5, N* = 39) = 1.84, *p* = ns, and χ^2 (*2, N* = 479) = 4.90, *p* = ns respectively]. The educational level of self-reported bullies in primary and secondary schools is shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Educational level of self-reported bullies

Types of schools	Educational levels	Total
Primary (N=39)	Primary 1	7 (17.9%)
	Primary 2	7 (17.9%)
	Primary 3	7 (17.9%)
	Primary 4	4 (10.3%)
	Primary 5	6 (15.4%)
	Primary 6	8 (20.6%)
Secondary (N=53)	Secondary 1	23 (43.4%)
	Secondary 2	12 (22.6%)
	Secondary 3	15 (28.3%)
	Secondary 4N*	3 (5.7%)

* Respondents in Secondary 4N were excluded from this analysis due to its small sample size

Ethnicity of self-reported bullies

The number of self-reported bullies was proportionately distributed among the different ethnic groups in primary [χ^2 (*2, N* = 771) = 2.75, *p* = ns], and in secondary schools [χ^2 (*2, N* = 505) = 0.17, *p* = ns]. The ethnicity of respondents who reported bullying others is shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Ethnic distribution of self-reported bullies

	Ethnicity				
Types of schools	Chinese	Malays	Indians	Others	Total
Primary	26 (66.7%)	6 (15.4%)	5 (12.8%)	2 (5.1%)	39
Secondary	38 (71.7%)	10 (18.9%)	4 (7.5%)	1 (1.9%)	53

Gender differences (pp. 19)

A series of chi-square test for independence conducted where the assumptions of chi-square withheld, found proportionately more girls than boys from primary and secondary schools who reported experiencing bullying behaviours that were relational in nature. Among the primary school students, female victims were found to experience significantly more withdrawal of relationships (i.e., "not want to friend you for no reason"), and social isolation (i.e., "tell other people not to friend you") [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 7.59, $p < .05$; χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 7.67, $p < .05$ respectively], and female victims in secondary schools experienced proportionately more rumour spreading than boys [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 9.58, $p < .05$]. Boys in secondary but not primary schools were found to experience significantly more physical aggression like hitting [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 6.61, $p < .05$; χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 0.35, *p* = ns respectively]. The prevalence of the various types of bullying behaviours experienced by students at least two times in a single month can be found in Table 18.

Table 18: Prevalence of bullying behaviours experienced by boys and girls at least two times in a single month

Types of bullying behaviours	Primary school		Secondary school	
	Gender		Gender	
	%Male (N=95)	%Female (N=70)	%Male (N=71)	%Female (N=55)
Calling hurtful or vulgar names	64.2	48.6	71.8	65.5
Insulting victims/ victims' family	23.2	14.3	25.4	32.7
Threatening and intimidation	8.4	14.3	8.5	14.6
Posting negative comments in public	6.3	1.4	-	-
Racial teasing	19.0	15.7	-	-
Silent or abusive phone calls	1.1	4.3	5.6	7.3
Posting negative comments on internet	0	5.7	5.6	3.6
Sending abusive text messages	2.1	2.9	4.2	3.6
Social exclusion	31.8	54.3	16.9	23.6
Withdrawal of friendships	25.3	47.1	-	-
Rumour spreading	30.5	25.7	31.0	47.3
Physical aggression (hitting, kicking etc.)	27.4	32.9	38.0	20.0
Extortion/ damaging victims' belongings	11.6	17.1	31.0	40.0
Drawing on victim/ dirtying victims' clothes	2.1	5.7	-	-
Locking victims in enclosed spaces	0	1.4	-	-

Educational level differences (pp. 19)

The prevalence of the various forms of bullying behaviours appeared relatively stable across all educational levels within primary and secondary schools. Larger sample sizes are needed to allow for any meaningful analyses. The prevalence of the various forms of bullying experienced by victims of bullying from Primary 1 through Secondary 4(Normal) at least two times in a month can be found in Table 19.

Table 19: Prevalence of bullying behaviours experienced by victims of bullying from Primary 1 through Secondary 4(N) at least two times in a single month

Types of bullying behaviours	Primary school						Secondary school			
	Educational level						Educational level			
	%Pri 1 (N=24)	%Pri 2 (N=30)	%Pri 3 (N=36)	%Pri 4 (N=21)	%Pri 5 (N=35)	%Pri 6 (N=19)	%Sec 1 (N=49)	%Sec 2 (N=38)	%Sec 3 (N=33)	%Sec 4N (N=6)
Calling hurtful or vulgar names	33.0	53.4	63.9	52.4	68.5	68.4	65.3	73.7	66.7	83.3
Insulting victims/ victims' family	4.2	23.3	16.7	23.8	28.5	15.8	36.7	23.7	21.2	33.3
Threatening and intimidation	8.3	6.6	11.2	19.0	17.1	0	8.2	5.3	21.2	0
Posting negative comments in public	8.3	6.6	2.8	0	2.9	5.3	-	-	-	-
Racial teasing	16.6	30.0	13.9	19.1	14.3	10.6	-	-	-	-
Silent or abusive phone calls	0	3.3	2.8	0	2.9	5.3	4.1	7.9	9.1	0
Posting negative comments on internet	0	6.7	0	0	5.7	0	4.1	0	12.1	0
Sending abusive text messages	0	3.3	0	0	0	15.8	2.0	2.6	9.1	0
Social exclusion	41.7	43.4	44.4	38.0	31.5	52.6	16.3	13.2	24.2	66.7
Withdrawal of friendships	58.4	30.0	38.9	19.0	25.7	36.9	-	-	-	-
Rumour spreading	20.8	33.3	25.0	19.0	37.1	31.6	36.7	36.8	42.4	33.3
Physical aggression (hitting, kicking etc.)	25.0	26.7	44.5	38.1	25.7	10.5	30.6	21.1	39.4	33.3
Extortion/ damaging victims' belongings	20.9	16.7	22.3	9.6	2.9	10.6	34.7	26.3	45.5	33.3
Drawing on victim/ dirtying victims' clothes	8.3	3.3	0	0	5.7	5.3	-	-	-	-
Locking victims in enclosed spaces	0	0	0	4.8	0	0	-	-	-	-

Ethnic differences (pp. 19)

Table 20 shows the proportion of victims from each ethnic group who experienced the various types of bullying behaviours at least two times in a month. In instances where chi-square tests for independence were performed to examine ethnic differences among victims in primary and in secondary schools, significant differences were found between the Malay and Chinese victims of bullying with regards to hurtful name-calling. There were proportionately more Chinese and lesser Malays in primary [χ^2 (2, N = 162) = 10.14, p < .05], and more Malays and lesser Chinese in secondary schools [χ^2 (2, N = 124) = 7.68, p < .05] who were called hurtful names. Indians from both types of schools experienced intermediate amounts of hurtful name calling.

There were also proportionately more Indians and lesser Chinese students in primary schools who were publicly insulted by someone or had someone insulting their family members beyond what could be expected by chance [χ^2 (2, N = 162) = 6.11, p = .05]. Indian victims also experienced proportionately more racial bullying [χ^2 (2, N = 162) = 23.16, p < .05].

Table 20: Prevalence of bullying behaviours experienced by victims of bullying from different ethnic groups at least two times in a single month

Types of bullying behaviours	Primary school Ethnicity				Secondary school Ethnicity			
	%Chinese (N=83)	%Malays (N=36)	%Indians (N=43)	%Others (N=3)	%Chinese (N=70)	%Malays (N=39)	%Indians (N=15)	%Others (N=2)
Calling hurtful or vulgar names	67.5	36.1	58.1	33.3	68.6	69.2	66.7	100.0
Insulting victims/ victims' family	15.8	13.9	32.6	0	18.6	38.5	40.0	100.0
Threatening and intimidation	9.6	22.2	4.7	0	8.6	12.8	13.3	50.0
Posting negative comments in public	2.4	5.6	4.7	33.3	-	-	-	-
Racial teasing	6.0	13.9	39.5	66.7	-	-	-	-
Silent or abusive phone calls	4.8	0	0	0	5.7	5.1	13.3	0
Posting negative comments on internet	2.4	2.8	2.3	0	4.3	7.7	0	0
Sending abusive text messages	4.8	0	0	0	4.3	5.1	0	0
Social exclusion	33.7	47.2	51.2	33.3	20.0	20.5	13.3	50.0
Withdrawal of friendships	34.9	38.9	32.6	0	-	-	-	-
Rumour spreading	27.7	30.6	30.2	0	34.3	38.5	46.7	100.0
Physical aggression (hitting, kicking etc.)	28.9	38.9	23.3	33.3	25.7	38.5	26.7	50.0
Extortion/ damaging victims' belongings	13.3	19.4	11.6	0	27.1	48.7	26.7	100.0
Drawing on victim/ dirtying victims' clothes	4.8	5.6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Locking victims in enclosed spaces	1.2	0	0	0	-	-	-	-

Gender differences (pp. 26)

A series of chi-square test for independence were performed where possible to examine gender differences in primary and in secondary schools. Proportionately more females than males in primary and in secondary schools felt bad about themselves after they were bullied [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 4.74, $p < .05$; χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 5.21, $p < .05$ respectively]. More girls than boys in secondary schools also felt sad [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 16.24, $p < .05$], wanted to be alone [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 6.61, $p < .05$], cried every time they recalled the bullying incident [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 8.04, $p < .05$], had difficulty sleeping [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 5.37, $p < .05$], and hurt themselves [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 5.10, $p < .05$]. There were also more boys than girls in primary schools who retaliated against their bullies [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 5.43, $p < .05$], and destroyed properties [χ^2 (*1, N* = 165) = 7.10, $p < .05$]. The prevalence of the various bullying effects experienced by boys and girls is listed in Table 21.

Table 21: Prevalence of bullying effects experienced by male and female victims of bullying

Effects of bullying	Primary school Gender		Secondary school Gender	
	%Male (N=95)	%Female (N=70)	%Male (N=71)	%Female (N=55)
Felt angry	65.3	50.0	70.4	81.8
Felt sad	37.9	50.0	29.6	67.3
Felt scared	7.4	18.6	4.2	14.6
Felt 'OK'	44.2	31.4	-	-
Self-blamed	8.4	14.3	15.5	18.2
Felt bad about self	14.7	30.0	16.9	36.4
Wanted to be alone	19.0	15.7	28.2	52.7
Felt no hope for the future	-	-	9.7	9.1
Had suicidal thoughts	-	-	1.4	12.7
Retaliated against the bully	34.7	17.1	39.4	34.5
Afraid to go to school	-	-	4.2	14.5
Did not go to school	11.6	10.0	8.5	14.6
Problem concentrating in class	27.4	22.7	25.4	18.9
Problem sleeping at night	11.6	14.3	22.5	34.5
Wet your bed	-	-	0	3.6
Cried when incident was recalled	-	-	7.0	27.3
Affected appetite	13.7	15.7	32.4	30.9
Hurt others	10.5	4.3	14.1	10.9
Self-harmed	9.5	2.7	4.2	18.2
Destroyed properties	14.7	1.4	19.7	18.2
Hurt animals	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.8

Educational level differences (pp. 26)

The bullying consequences reported by victims across all educational levels appeared relatively similar within primary and within secondary schools. Larger sample sizes are needed to allow for any analysis of educational level differences. The various effects of bullying experienced by victims of bullying from Primary 1 through Secondary 4 (Normal Academic) are shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Prevalence of bullying effects experienced by victims of bullying from all educational levels

Effects of bullying	Primary school						Secondary school			
	Educational level						Educational level			
	%Pri 1 (N=24)	%Pri 2 (N=30)	%Pri 3 (N=36)	%Pri 4 (N=21)	%Pri 5 (N=35)	%Pri 6 (N=19)	%Sec 1 (N=49)	%Sec 2 (N=38)	%Sec 3 (N=33)	%Sec 4N (N=6)
Felt angry	58.3	53.3	61.1	57.1	68.6	47.4	79.6	65.8	75.8	100.0
Felt sad	58.3	43.3	44.4	52.4	28.6	36.8	51.0	42.1	33.3	100.0
Felt scared	12.5	20.0	13.9	9.5	5.7	10.5	4.1	13.2	9.1	16.7
Felt 'OK'	37.5	50.0	25.0	47.6	42.9	31.6	-	-	-	-
Self-blamed	4.2	16.7	13.9	4.8	8.6	15.8	12.2	21.1	18.2	16.7
Felt bad about self	16.7	30.0	27.8	19.1	14.3	15.8	26.5	29.0	21.2	16.7
Wanted to be alone	4.2	20.0	16.7	23.8	20.0	21.1	34.7	44.7	39.4	33.3
Felt no hope for the future	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.1	10.5	12.1	16.7
Had suicidal thoughts	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.1	10.5	6.1	0
Retaliated against the bully	12.5	20.0	36.1	19.1	37.1	31.6	34.7	31.6	48.5	33.3
Afraid to go to school	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.1	15.8	9.1	0
Did not go to school	16.7	13.3	2.8	4.8	17.1	10.5	4.1	15.8	12.1	33.3
Problem concentrating in class	20.8	23.3	33.3	28.6	25.7	15.8	18.4	26.3	24.2	16.7
Problem sleeping at night	12.5	16.7	13.9	19.1	8.6	5.3	24.5	31.6	27.3	33.3
Wet your bed	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	0	0	16.7
Cried when incident was recalled	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.2	23.7	9.1	33.3
Affected appetite	8.3	20.0	22.2	9.5	14.3	5.3	34.7	26.3	36.4	16.7
Hurt others	4.2	13.3	5.6	4.8	8.6	10.5	10.2	7.9	18.2	33.3
Self-harmed	4.2	10.0	5.6	4.8	8.6	5.3	10.2	5.3	15.2	16.7
Destroyed properties	0	13.3	2.8	9.5	20.0	5.3	16.3	18.4	24.2	16.7
Hurt animals	0	3.3	2.8	0	0	0	2.0	2.6	0	0

Ethnic differences (pp. 26)

Chi-square tests for independence were conducted where possible to examine ethnic differences in the effects of bullying experienced by victims in primary and in secondary schools. Some differences were found in the way bullying in school affected Malay students in primary and in secondary schools. Compared to the Chinese and the Indians, there were proportionately more Malay victims from primary schools whose appetite were affected after being bullied [χ^2 (2, N = 162) = 6.18, p = .05], and more Malays in secondary schools who took revenge on their bullies [χ^2 (2, N = 124) = 10.58, p < .05]. No other difference was found between the two groups of students. The proportion of victims from different ethnic groups who experienced the various consequences of bullying is shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Prevalence of bullying effects experienced by victims of bullying from different ethnic groups

Effects of bullying	Primary school				Secondary school			
	Ethnicity				Ethnicity			
	%Chinese (N=83)	%Malays (N=36)	%Indians (N=43)	%Others (N=3)	%Chinese (N=70)	%Malays (N=39)	%Indians (N=15)	%Others (N=2)
Felt angry	51.8	69.4	62.8	66.7	65.7	82.1	100.0	100.0
Felt sad	36.1	50.0	53.5	0	41.4	46.2	60.0	100.0
Felt scared	10.8	19.4	9.3	0	7.1	7.7	13.3	50.0
Felt 'OK'	42.2	30.6	37.2	66.7	-	-	-	-
Self-blamed	13.3	8.3	9.3	0	10.0	25.6	26.7	0
Felt bad about self	19.3	27.8	20.9	0	22.9	25.6	40.0	0
Wanted to be alone	14.5	30.6	14.0	0	38.6	35.9	53.3	0
Felt no hope for the future	-	-	-	-	7.1	15.4	6.7	0
Had suicidal thoughts	-	-	-	-	4.3	10.3	6.7	0
Retaliated against the bully	27.7	27.8	27.9	0	25.7	56.4	46.7	0
Afraid to go to school	-	-	-	-	8.6	10.3	0	50.0
Did not go to school	6.0	19.4	14.0	0	8.6	15.4	13.3	0
Problem concentrating in class	21.7	33.3	25.6	33.3	15.7	35.9	20.0	0
Problem sleeping at night	13.3	16.7	7.0	33.3	18.6	35.9	46.7	50.0
Wet your bed	-	-	-	-	1.4	2.6	0	0
Cried when incident was recalled	-	-	-	-	11.4	20.5	20.0	50.0
Affected appetite	10.8	27.8	11.6	0	27.1	41.0	33.3	0
Hurt others	6.0	8.3	11.6	0	10.0	20.5	6.7	0
Self-harmed	3.6	11.1	9.3	0	4.3	20.5	13.3	0
Destroyed properties	6.0	13.9	11.6	0	15.7	23.1	26.7	0
Hurt animals	0	2.8	2.3	0	0	2.6	6.7	0

Sources Of Support For Bullying

Sources of support for primary school victims (pp. 33)

34.6% of the victims did not tell anyone they were bullied, and the rest spoke to at least one person about their bullying experiences, as shown in Table 24. Of the victims who approached someone, slightly over half of them (N = 64) turned to only one person, while the rest (N = 44) informed at least two persons.

Table 24: Number of sources of support approached by primary school victims of bullying

Number of sources of support	Frequency	Percentage
None	57	34.5%
One	64	38.8%
Two	44	26.7%
Total	165	100%

First source of support for primary school students

A chi-square goodness-of-fit test found a significant relationship in the choice of first support sources approached by victims [χ^2 (*3, N* = 108) = 91.85, $p < .05$]. Parents, regardless of which parent, were most popular with more than half the victims approaching them. Among the 59 victims who did specify which parent they approached, 49 of them had approached their mothers (83.1%). This was followed by school staff (i.e., teachers/ principals) (30.6%). Peers and siblings were the least popular choices.

Due to small sample sizes, ineffective sources of support – those who did not improve the situation for the victims (i.e., "same") or made matters "worse" for them – were pooled together in the analyses. A chi-square test for independence between the effective and ineffective parents and schools found a significant relationship between the two sources [χ^2 (*1, N* = 98) = 6.44, $p < .05$]. Schools were effective more often than could be expected, and parents were the opposite. The other sources of support were excluded from this and subsequent tests because of their small sample sizes. The first source of support approached by the victims and their perceived effectiveness are shown in Table 25.

Table 25: First source of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims in primary schools

	Sources of support				
Effectiveness	**Parents**	**Schools**	**Peers**	**Siblings**	**Total**
Better	37 (56.9%)	28 (84.9%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (100%)	70
Same	24 (36.9%)	4 (12.1%)	5 (55.6%)	0 (0%)	33
Worse	4 (6.2%)	1 (3.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5
Total	65 (100%)	33 (100%)	9 (100%)	1 (100%)	108

Gender differences

A chi-square test for independence found no significant relationship between gender and whether victims approached their parents or schools [χ^2 (*1, N* = 98) = 2.46, *p* = ns]. The choices of support were similar between boys and girls.

A chi-square test for independence found no significant relationship between how often male and female victims rated their parents as effective or ineffective [χ^2 (*1, N* = 65) = 0.86, *p* = ns]. Males and females found their parents to be proportionally effective and ineffective.

The first source of support approached by boys and girls, and their perceived effectiveness are shown in Table 26.

Table 26: First source of support and their perceived effectiveness for boys and girls in primary schools

Sources of support		Gender		Total
		Male (N=95)	Female (N=70)	
Parents	**Total**	**31**	**34**	**65**
	Better	20	17	37
	Same	11	13	24
	Worse	0	4	4
Schools	**Total**	**22**	**11**	**33**
	Better	19	9	28
	Same	2	2	4
	Worse	1	0	1
Peers	**Total**	**4**	**5**	**9**
	Better	2	2	4
	Same	2	3	5
	Worse	0	0	0
Siblings	**Total**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Better	1	0	1
	Same	0	0	0
	Worse	0	0	0

Educational level differences

The proportion of victims who approached the various sources of support and their perceived effectiveness appeared relatively stable across educational level, though the sample sizes were too small for analyses. The first source of support approached by victims across educational level and their perceived effectiveness are shown in Table 27.

Table 27: First source of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims of bullying from Primary 1 through 6

Sources of support		Educational level						Total
		Primary 1 (N=24)	Primary 2 (N=30)	Primary 3 (N=36)	Primary 4 (N=21)	Primary 5 (N=35)	Primary 6 (N=19)	
Parents	**Total**	**16**	**9**	**11**	**14**	**8**	**7**	**65**
	Better	6	6	7	8	5	5	37
	Same	8	2	3	6	3	2	24
	Worse	2	1	1	0	0	0	4
Schools	**Total**	**3**	**4**	**11**	**4**	**8**	**3**	**33**
	Better	2	4	9	4	7	2	28
	Same	0	0	2	0	1	1	4
	Worse	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Peers	**Total**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**9**
	Better	1	0	0	1	2	0	4
	Same	0	2	2	0	1	0	5
	Worse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Siblings	**Total**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Better	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Same	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Worse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Ethnic differences

A chi-square test for independence found no significant relationship between ethnicity and whether victims approached their parents or schools [χ^2 (*2, N* = 95) = 0.35, *p* = ns].

A chi-square test for independence found no significant relationship between how often victims from different ethnic groups rated their parents as effective or ineffective [χ^2 (*2, N* = 64) = 1.53, *p* = ns]. Victims of various ethnicities found their parents to be proportionately effective and ineffective.

The first source of support approached by victims from different ethnic groups, and their perceived effectiveness are shown in Table 28.

Table 28: First source of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims of bullying of different ethnicities

Sources of support		Ethnicity				Total
		Chinese (N=83)	Malays (N=36)	Indians (N=43)	Others (N=3)	
Parents	**Total**	**31**	**16**	**17**	**1**	**65**
	Better	15	10	11	1	37
	Same	15	4	5	0	24
	Worse	1	2	1	0	4
Schools	**Total**	**17**	**7**	**7**	**2**	**33**
	Better	16	5	6	1	28
	Same	1	2	1	0	4
	Worse	0	0	0	1	1
Peers	**Total**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**9**
	Better	2	1	1	0	4
	Same	1	2	2	0	5
	Worse	0	0	0	0	0
Siblings	**Total**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	Better	0	0	1	0	1
	Same	0	0	0	0	0
	Worse	0	0	0	0	0

Sources of support for secondary school victims (pp. 33)

As can be seen from Table 29, the most common source of support approached by secondary school students was schoolmates (64.3%). This was followed by teachers (46.0%), then parents (39.7%). Consulting professional helpers like counsellors or social workers (10.3%), helplines (6.4%) or the police (6.4%) were least preferred. In terms of perceived effectiveness, police was effective most often (100%).

A chi-square test for independence found a significant relationship between the effective and ineffective sources [χ^2 (*7, N* = 369) = 17.82, *p* < .05]. Counsellors and social workers were effective more often than what could be expected by chance. Calling the police and helplines were omitted from this test due to their small sample sizes. In general, majority of the sources of support approached appeared more effective than not, and only seldom made things worse for the victims.

16.7% of the victims said they did not tell anyone they were bullied but further inspection found over a third of them did inform someone they were bullied (N = 8).

The sources of support approached by victims and their perceived effectiveness, ranked in order of their frequencies, can be seen in Table 29.

Table 29: Sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for secondary school victims of bullying

Rank	Sources of support	Total approached	Effectiveness*		
			Better	Same	Worse
1	Schoolmates	81 (64.3%)	44 (55.0%)	31 (38.8%)	5 (6.2%)
2	Asked the bully to stop	80 (63.5%)	48 (60.8%)	25 (31.6%)	6 (7.6%)
3	Teachers	58 (46.0%)	38 (65.5%)	17 (29.3%)	3 (5.2%)
4	Parents	50 (39.7%)	30 (60.0%)	17 (34.0%)	3 (6.0%)
5	Other family members	36 (28.6%)	21 (58.3%)	15 (41.7%)	0 (0%)
6	Other peers	35 (27.8%)	18 (54.6%)	14 (42.4%)	1 (3.0%)
7	Did not tell anyone	21 (16.7%)	5 (23.8%)	14 (66.7%)	2 (9.5%)
8	Counsellors or social workers	13 (10.3%)	11 (91.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (8.3%)
9	Police	8 (6.4%)	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
10	Helplines	8 (6.4%)	3 (37.5%)	4 (50.0%)	1 (12.5%)

* Some respondents did not answer this part of the question.

Gender differences

A series of chi-square test for independence was conducted where the assumptions of chi-square were not violated to examine differences in gender and whether victims approached a particular support source. A significant relationship was found between gender and whether victims of bullying approached their parents or not [χ^2 (*1, N* = 126) = 6.01, $p < .05$]. Females informed their parents more than males.

A series of chi-square test for independence conducted where possible found no significant relationship between the effective and ineffective sources of support and gender. Proportionately similar number of boys and girls found the various help sources effective and ineffective.

Table 30 shows the sources of support approached by male and female victims, and their perceived effectives.

Table 30: Sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for male and female victims of bullying in secondary schools

Rank	Sources of support		Gender	
			Male (N=71)	Female (N=55)
1	Schoolmates	**Total**	**41**	**40**
		Better	22	22
		Same	14	17
		Worse	4	1
2	Asked the bully to stop	**Total**	**46**	**34**
		Better	30	18
		Same	13	12
		Worse	2	4
3	Teachers	**Total**	**34**	**24**
		Better	24	14
		Same	8	9
		Worse	2	1
4	Parents	**Total**	**21**	**29**
		Better	1	14
		Same	4	13
		Worse	16	2
5	Other family members	**Total**	**16**	**20**
		Better	9	12
		Same	7	8
		Worse	0	0
6	Other peers	**Total**	**21**	**14**
		Better	10	8
		Same	8	6
		Worse	1	0
7	Did not tell anyone	**Total**	**15**	**6**
		Better	1	4
		Same	12	2
		Worse	2	0
8	Counsellors or social workers	**Total**	**8**	**5**
		Better	7	4
		Same	0	0
		Worse	0	1
9	Police	**Total**	**6**	**2**
		Better	5	2
		Same	0	0
		Worse	0	0
10	Helplines	**Total**	**3**	**5**
		Better	2	1
		Same	1	3
		Worse	0	1

Note: Some respondents did not rate the effectiveness of their support source(s).

Educational level differences

A series of chi-square test for independence was performed where possible to test for differences in educational level and whether the victims approached a particular source of support. A significant relationship was found between educational level and whether they approached their teachers or not [χ^2 (2, N = 120) = 10.43, $p < .05$]. There were proportionately more Secondary 1 and lesser Secondary 3 students who informed their teachers. No other difference was found between educational level and if victims of

bullying approached the various help sources. The group of Secondary 4 students were excluded from this and subsequent analyses because of their small sample size.

Chi-square tests for independence between educational level and whether a support source was found effective or not could only be conducted for schoolmates and asking the bully to stop. No significant relationship was found for either source [χ^2 (2, N = 75) = 0.19, p = ns, and χ^2 (2, N = 74) = 0.89, p = ns respectively]. Victims across all educational levels rated both sources as effective and ineffective the same way.

Table 31 shows the proportion of victims in each educational level who approached the various sources of support, and how effective the victims found them to be.

Table 31: Sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for victims of bullying from Secondary 1 through 4 (Normal Academic)

Rank	Sources of support		Educational Level			
			S1 (N=49)	S2 (N=38)	S3 (N=33)	S4 (N=6)
1	Schoolmates	**Total**	**30**	**24**	**22**	**5**
		Better	16	13	11	4
		Same	12	10	8	1
		Worse	2	0	3	0
2	Asked the bully to stop	**Total**	**32**	**23**	**20**	**5**
		Better	21	15	11	1
		Same	9	4	8	4
		Worse	2	3	1	0
3	Teachers	**Total**	**30**	**14**	**9**	**5**
		Better	21	9	6	2
		Same	7	5	3	2
		Worse	2	0	0	1
4	Parents	**Total**	**22**	**12**	**14**	**2**
		Better	14	8	7	1
		Same	8	2	6	1
		Worse	0	2	1	0
5	Other family members	**Total**	**11**	**8**	**14**	**3**
		Better	7	3	9	2
		Same	4	5	5	1
		Worse	0	0	0	0
6	Other peers	**Total**	**11**	**9**	**14**	**1**
		Better	6	3	8	1
		Same	4	4	6	0
		Worse	1	0	0	0
7	Did not tell anyone	**Total**	**8**	**6**	**7**	**0**
		Better	4	0	1	0
		Same	3	6	5	0
		Worse	1	0	1	0
8	Counsellors or social workers	**Total**	**7**	**3**	**3**	**0**
		Better	6	2	3	0
		Same	0	0	0	0
		Worse	1	0	0	0
9	Police	**Total**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**0**
		Better	2	3	2	0
		Same	0	0	0	0
		Worse	0	0	0	0
10	Helplines	**Total**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**0**
		Better	0	1	2	0
		Same	3	1	0	0
		Worse	1	0	0	0

Note: Some respondents did not rate the effectiveness of their support source(s).

Ethnic differences

A series of chi-square test for independence was conducted where permitted to observe differences between ethnicity and whether the victims of bullying approached a particular source of support. A significant ethnic difference was found only among victims who approached their teachers or not [χ^2 (2, N = 124) = 12.02, p < .05]. There were proportionately more Malays, more Indians, and lesser Chinese who informed their teachers beyond what could be expected by chance.

Out of the ten support sources surveyed, a chi-square test for independence could only be conducted between ethnicity and whether schoolmates were effective or not, which was found to be significant [χ^2 (2, N = 79) = 7.33, p = < .05]. There were proportionately more Indian and lesser Chinese victims of bullying who found schoolmates effective.

The sources of support approached by victims from each ethnic group, and their perceived effectiveness are shown in Table 32.

Table 32: Sources of support and their perceived effectiveness for secondary school victims of bullying from different ethnic groups

Rank	Sources of support		Ethnicity			
			Chinese (N=70)	Malays (N=39)	Indians (N=15)	Others (N=2)
1	Schoolmates	**Total**	**45**	**24**	**11**	**1**
		Better	20	13	10	1
		Same	21	9	1	0
		Worse	3	2	0	0
2	Asked the bully to stop	**Total**	**42**	**26**	**11**	**1**
		Better	25	26	6	1
		Same	11	16	4	0
		Worse	5	10	1	0
3	Teachers	**Total**	**23**	**23**	**11**	**1**
		Better	15	17	6	0
		Same	7	5	4	1
		Worse	1	1	1	0
4	Parents	**Total**	**25**	**17**	**7**	**1**
		Better	15	11	4	0
		Same	9	5	2	1
		Worse	1	1	1	0
5	Other family members	**Total**	**15**	**13**	**8**	**0**
		Better	9	13	4	0
		Same	6	8	4	0
		Worse	0	5	0	0
6	Other peers	**Total**	**18**	**14**	**3**	**0**
		Better	8	13	3	0
		Same	8	8	2	0
		Worse	1	5	1	0
7	Did not tell anyone	**Total**	**14**	**7**	**0**	**0**
		Better	2	3	0	0
		Same	10	4	0	0
		Worse	2	0	0	0
8	Counsellors or social workers	**Total**	**3**	**7**	**3**	**0**
		Better	3	5	3	0
		Same	0	0	0	0
		Worse	0	1	0	0
9	Police	**Total**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**0**
		Better	3	2	2	0
		Same	0	0	0	0
		Worse	0	0	0	0
10	Helplines	**Total**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**0**
		Better	1	0	2	0
		Same	0	4	0	0
		Worse	0	1	0	0

Note: Some respondents did not rate the effectiveness of their support source(s).